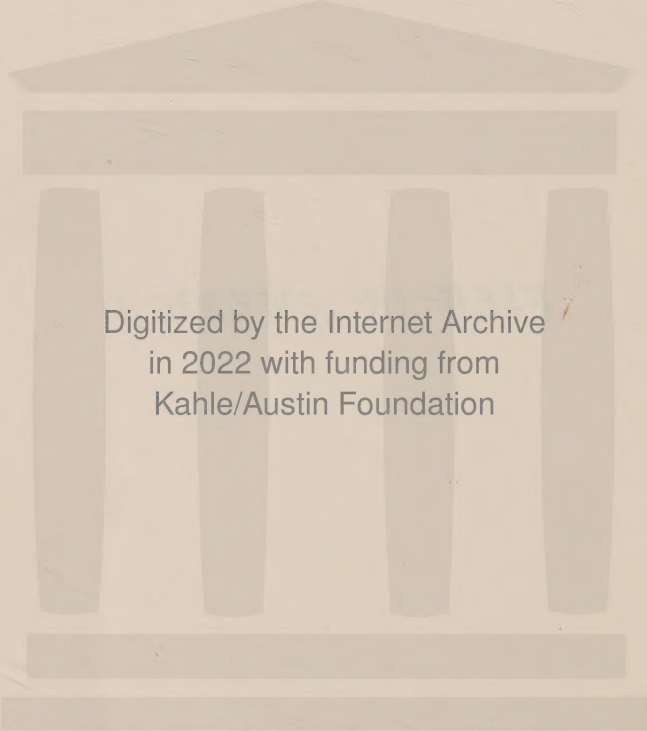




REPRINTS OF ECONOMIC CLASSICS

VIEW OF AMERICA



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A
VIEW
OF THE
UNITED STATES
OF
AMERICA

*IN A SERIES OF PAPERS
WRITTEN AT VARIOUS TIMES, IN THE YEARS
BETWEEN 1787 AND 1794*

By TENCH COXE

[1794]



REPRINTS OF ECONOMIC CLASSICS

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C87v

Library of Congress Catalogue Card Number

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U N I T E D S T A T E S
O F
A M E R I C A,

IN A SERIES OF PAPERS,

WRITTEN AT VARIOUS TIMES, BETWEEN THE YEARS
1787 AND 1794,

BY *TENCH COXE*, OF PHILADELPHIA;

INTERSPERSED WITH

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SAMUEL CALDWELL, *Clerk of the
District of Pennsylvania.*

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BOOK I.

A

P R E F A T O R Y N O T E

ADDRESSED TO THE

CITIZENS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

AFTER the following pages were delivered from the press some observations upon those parts of their contents, which relate to our particular state, occurred with very considerable force. These were accompanied by interesting reflections upon the existing circumstances of the country. It appeared useful to introduce them in a prefatory note, that they might encourage our perseverance in the ancient line of policy and conduct, which have produced effects so transcendently favourable to our local interests, without injustice to our sister states, or to the foreign world.

It appears by the return on the 476th page, that the state of Pennsylvania (or the city of Philadelphia) exported in the year, ending in September, 1793, of foreign and domestic goods, nearly seven eighths of the sum exported by New-York, Con-

necticut, Rhode-Island, Massachusetts, and New-Hampshire ; and that those exports of Philadelphia were 1,717,572 dollars, more than all the exports of New-England. At the same time, it is well known, that Baltimore received a considerable part of the produce of this state, and that some of it is usually sent out by land to the Patowmac, and by water through the river Ohio. The migrators from New-England, New-York, New-Jersey, Delaware and Maryland, from Europe and in that year, from the West-Indies, were consuming largely of articles, which would otherwise have greatly increased the value of our exportations.

Having reference to the number of tons and to the quality, it will be found, that we built new vessels in the same year to an amount double that of any other port in the United States.

The increase of the exports of the United States in flour since the year 1786, has been about 800,000 barrels. This article is received by New-England, the Carolinas and Georgia, in a much greater degree from the middle states, than it is exported from the former seven. This very great increase is therefore confined to Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, New-York, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia; and it is not the principal staple of the two last states, which export more in value of tobacco than of flour. The difference in the value of the flour shipped from those six states, in 1786, and that in 1793, is about six millions of dollars, calculating as well upon the increase of price as of quantity. The whole increase of the exports of the union, since March 1789, is about eight millions of dollars, of which more than two millions were in foreign goods.

Pennsylvania, and Maryland (which exports considerably for Pennsylvania) shipped, of domestic and foreign goods, in 1792,
Dollars, 6,370,904

The same two states shipped in 1793, 10,645,855

The difference in favour of the latter year was 4,274,951 dollars. This was about seventeen twentieth parts of the increase of the exports of the United States in the same time.

The whole exports of New-York, in 1793, were 2,934,370

The mere increase of the exports of Pennsylvania, between 1792 and 1793, was 3,138,090

The exports of Pennsylvania, for the half year only, ending on the 30th March, 1794, were, Dols. 3,533,597

The increase of the exports of the United States, in 1793, beyond those of 1792, was about 5,000,000 dollars, of which the above increase of Pennsylvania alone, in that time, was thirty-one fiftieth parts: or more than three fifths.

The population of Pennsylvania appears to have increased, in 23 years, nearly in the proportion of 39 to 91, though the whole term of a revolutionary and invasive war of seven years was included. This considerably exceeds Dr. Franklin's estimate of doubling in twenty years. Now, that all New-England is full, except Main and Vermont, the contiguous states of New-Jersey and Delaware are overstocked, and Maryland*

* See page 481.

nearly so ; and above all, now that Europe is full and much disturbed, a curious rapidity of population is to be expected in a state with so much unimproved land, disposition and capacity for manufactures, wealth, foreign intercourse, energy and enterprise as Pennsylvania. The surplus population of New-England, New-Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland, at five per cent. is above 60,000 persons per annum ; and the surplus of the old settlements of this state is above twenty-two thousand per annum.

The plenty of pit-coal in Pennsylvania will very soon give it an immense advantage over all the interior country north and east of it, in which, though colder than Pennsylvania, it is not known, that there is one coal mine open, or that there is any considerable appearance of that invaluable fossil. Wood and timber are very much decreased in the principal part of New-England and in New-Jersey, but is abundant in Maine and Vermont, and in many parts of New-York.

It cannot be too much enforced and reiterated, that the interior and western counties of Pennsylvania, and the western country in general, ought to procure, at any expence, the most valuable breeding animals, which can be obtained—Horses, mares, horned cattle and sheep : because their distance from the sea-ports dictates the most intelligent and particular attention to the grazing husbandry. Horned cattle have been driven to Philadelphia, from Massachusetts and North-Carolina, and mules from Connecticut to Baltimore. The journey from the Ohio to Philadelphia, is not more difficult.

The practice of the eastern states, in regard to schools deserves the most serious attention of the wise and good. It

appears to have resulted in New-England from their settling in townships of four, five and six miles square. Perhaps it would be most easily accomplished in Pennsylvania by dividing the state into such townships. The utmost distance from a school, in the centre of a division of four miles square, would be very little more than a mile.

It is obviously of the greatest importance to this country and to Pennsylvania, that its citizens should continue to be firmly attached to the union of the American states. An opposite disposition would be an error the most fatal and the most extreme.

There was never applied, to the improvement and advancement of Pennsylvania, so great an aggregate of money as is employed directly or indirectly at the present time. The improvements at the falls of Delaware, at Alexandria on the same river, opposite to Bucks, at Wilsonville on the Walenpaupack, at Assylum on the Susquehannah, at Connewaga by that company, at the Brandywine, Schuylkill and Tulpehocken canals, at the Lancaster turnpike road, at the Black Friar falls of Susquehanna, in the private buildings at Pittsburg, the mills, work-shops and dwelling houses in every town and every quarter of the state, together with the expenditures upon roads, bridges and rivers, amount to a prodigious sum, have attracted artists, mechanics and labourers from other states, and even from Europe, and have caught the stream of emigration ere it passed from east to west, and from north to south. It may be truly said, that the profits, not only of agriculture, but of trade, manufactures, funds and banks are turned, to a great amount, to the promotion of the landed interest, by Pennsylvanians, by many other Americans and foreigners of several nations.

The manufactured imports of the state of Pennsylvania, are somewhat less than those of New-York; though the exports of this state are so much greater. This is a clear proof of the magnitude of the manufactures of Pennsylvania. Gunpowder, linseed oil, glue, paper, books, engravings, carriages, braziers, copper ware, tin and pewter wares, iron castings, saddlery, hats, carriages for pleasure and work, paper hangings, pasteboards, boots, shoes, tanned and tawed leather, parchments, earthen and stone ware, cedar ware, corn-fans, Windsor and rush bottom chairs, household manufactures of woollen, cotton and linen, set work, gold work, silver plate, rolled and slit iron and steel, and manufactures thereof and of lead, leather breeches, whips, gloves, horsemen's caps, cartouch boxes, canteens, sword blades, bayonets, musquets, rifles, drums, boats, ships and vessels, beer, distilled spirits, and many other articles to a great amount indeed, are manufactured in the city of Philadelphia, in the boroughs, and in the counties of Pennsylvania; are transported, in many instances, by land and water, to several other states; and, in many instances, are exported to foreign countries. This is the real cause of a difference, which has attracted some observation; and this important circumstance is conceived to be one of the strongest points in favour of the resources, powers and efficiency of Pennsylvania. From this solid truth it is obvious, that upon an accurate and comprehensive statement of her commerce, foreign and domestic, by sea and land, a great balance would appear in favour of this state.

The people of Pennsylvania owe very little money indeed, to their American brethren, but on the contrary, have always much due to them on all sides. They partake more largely in the ready money branches of foreign commerce, because of

their own valuable staples and of the extent of their capital and their habits of exporting to foreign countries, from the southern ports, the productions of those states. In the credit trades, they take a very large share and are second to none in punctuality of payment.

The citizens of Philadelphia consume in their arts, trades and families, and export to foreign countries so much of the produce of the fisheries, that they appear to have a strong interest to participate in them. While the British and French partake in the American fisheries, and in the whale fishery of every sea, it will continue to be a matter of certainty, that the enterprizing ship owners and mariners of Philadelphia may at any time make the experiment.

The facts and ideas in this note, relative to the state of Pennsylvania, together with those in the 4th chapter of the first book and in the 6th chapter of the second book will tend to prove to us, who are of that prosperous state, its very deep interest in maintaining just government and public order.

V I E W
OF THE
U N I T E D S T A T E S.

C H A P T E R I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE progressive course of things, in young countries, renders the task of those, who undertake to treat of their affairs, particularly difficult. The incessant changes, produced by public operations and private industry, occasion the representations of one year to be imperfect and dissimilar pictures, in those which follow soon after. In no country have these observations been more strikingly exemplified, than in the United States of America. The actual situation of many parts of their affairs is nearly *the reverse* of what it was at times within the memory of children. This circumstance has suggested the idea, that collections of papers, which have been published at the different stages of American affairs during the existing peace, (like those, which occupy this volume) introduced in each instance by concise explanatory remarks, and closed by such brief observations on its particular subject,

as arise in the present time, would be of considerable utility to those, who may desire to know, and thoroughly to understand the situation of the United States. The publications, now disposed in that form, were all produced in America by the state of things at the moment, and were given to the world without any reservation as to the writer's name. It is an interesting presumption, therefore, to persons abroad, that considerable dependance may be reasonably placed by them upon facts, which have been, in most instances, brought forward with a view to the use of the inhabitants of the United States, and which have been stated and asserted, in the most public manner, before the best informed people of the country. Gross deceptions, or many erroneous representations are not very likely to be found in such a collection. It is, however, prudent and necessary to observe, that the field of information and enquiry in the United States is so extensive, diversified and variable, that many very interesting facts remain unknown to their most attentive inhabitants. There is no doubt, therefore, that those, who are well acquainted with any portion of the United States, will perceive many instances of advantages, which are not contemplated in this collection. All that is intended to be affirmed, in regard to the matter they comprize, is, that the various allegations they contain were really warranted by truth or by sincere belief at the time when they were written.

CHAPTER II.

FACTS AND CONSIDERATIONS RELATIVE TO THE AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES, FISHERIES, NAVIGATION, AND THE IMPORT, EXPORT AND COASTING TRADE; INTENDED TO ELUCIDATE THE COMMERCIAL INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

NOTWITHSTANDING the actual prosperity of the United States of America at this time, it is a fact which ought not to be concealed, that their affairs had fallen into a very disagreeable condition in the year 1786. The derangements and injuries of a civil and invasive war, of more than seven years duration, the defects of the late national confederation and government, the confused mass of debts, both public and private, which had arisen from various causes, with other unfavorable circumstances, had reduced the country to a painful situation. Commerce, among other things, was of course deeply affected. From the dispositions of free governments to foster trade, and from the facility with which the mercantile citizens communicate with each other, measures were taken in a majority of the states for the appointment of a convention of commissioners to devise some mode of relief. The defective representation, which that body contained, when assembled at Annapolis,* and the alarming complexion of public affairs in general at that juncture, produced an unanimous conviction in the commissioners, that the salvation

* In the autumn of 1786.

of the country required the appointment of another convention, with more general powers. Such a body was soon after constituted, and commenced its sittings at Philadelphia in the spring of 1787. The following considerations relative to the American trade, were published in that city, and inscribed to the members of the convention at an early period of their business. It is proper to remark (and by the kindness of heaven it can be said with truth) that the unfavorable part of the circumstances, which are detailed in this essay, have given place to that prosperous state of commerce, which a country of diversified and productive agriculture must ever possess, either in the foreign or domestic line, while it maintains with sincerity and vigilance *the freedom of its citizens*, and with energy and firmness, *the rights of property*.

An enquiry into the principles, on which a commercial system for the United States of America should be founded; to which are added some political observations connected with the subject.—Read before the Society for political enquiries, convened at the house of Benjamin Franklin, in Philadelphia, May 11, 1787.

There are in every country certain important crises when exertion or neglect must produce consequences of the utmost moment. The period at which the inhabitants of these states have now arrived, will be admitted, by every attentive and serious person, to be clearly of this description.

Our money absorbed by a wanton consumption of imported luxuries, a fluctuating paper medium substituting in its stead, foreign commerce* extremely circumscribed and a federal government not only ineffective but disjointed, tell us indeed too plainly, that further negligence may ruin us forever. Impressed with this view of our affairs, the writer of the following pages has ventured to intrude upon the public. But as neither his time nor opportunities will permit him to treat of all the great objects, which excite his apprehensions or engage his wishes, he means principally to confine himself to that part of them, which have been most subjected to his observations and enquiries.

Just opinions on our general affairs, must necessarily precede such a well devised system of commercial regulations, as will extend our trade as far as it can be carried, without affecting unfavorably our other interests. It may therefore be useful in the first place, to take a comparative view of the two most important objects in the United States—our agriculture and commerce.

In a country blest with a fertile soil, and a climate admitting steady labour, where the cheapness of land tempts the European from his home, *and the manufacturer from his trade*,† we are led by a

* In regard to its old channels under the British monopoly—and the new channels not having then discovered themselves, or their importance.

† It may be truly affirmed in the middle states that agriculture draws more of the emigrating European artizans from manufactures than manufactures draw of the farmers from agriculture.

few moments reflexion to fix on agriculture as the great leading interest. From this we shall find most of our other advantages result, so far as they arise from the nature of our affairs, and where they are not produced by the operation of laws—the fisheries are the principal exception. In order to make a true estimate of the magnitude of agriculture, we must remember that it is encouraged by few or no duties on the importation of rival produce*—that it furnishes outward cargoes not only for all our own ships, but those also which foreign nations send to our ports, or in other words, that it pays for all our importations†—that it supplies a part of the clothing of our people and the food of them and their cattle—that what is consumed at home, including the materials for manufacturing, is many times the value of what is exported—that the number of people employed in agriculture, is at least nine parts in ten of the inhabitants of America‡—that therefore the planters and farmers compose the body of the militia, the bulwark of the nation—that the value in property, occupied by agriculture, is manifold greater than that employed in every other way—that the settlement of our waste lands, and subdividing our improved farms is every year increasing the pre-eminence of the agricultural interest—that the resources we derive from it are

* A. D. 1787, and under the laws of the several states.

† The fisheries were then the only exception, but manufactures are beginning to form another, tho' much less important, yet : A. D. 1789.

‡ A. D. 1787.

at all times certain and indispensibly necessary—and lastly, that the rural life promotes health and morality by its active nature, and by keeping our people from the luxuries and vices of the towns. In short, agriculture appears to be the spring of our commerce, and the parent of our manufactures.

The commerce of America, including our exports, imports, shipping, manufactures and fisheries, may be properly considered as forming one interest. So uninformed and mistaken have many of us been, that it has been stated as our greatest object, and it is feared that it is yet believed by some to be the most important interest of New-England. But calculations carefully made do not raise the proportion of property, or the number of men employed in manufactures, fisheries, navigation and trade,* to one-eighth of the property and people occupied by agriculture, even in that commercial quarter of the Union. In making this estimate something has been deducted from the value and population of the large towns for the idle and dissipated, for those who live upon their incomes, and for supernumerary domestic servants. But the disproportion is much greater, taking the union at large, for several of the states have little commerce, and no manufactures—others have no commerce and scarcely manufacture any thing. The timber, iron, cordage and many other articles necessary for building ships to fish or trade—nine parts in ten of their cargoes

* As regular occupations, &c. A. D. 1787. The manufacturers are but little more than half of the people of England.

—the subsistence of the manufacturers, and much of their raw materials are the produce of our lands. In almost all the countries of Europe, judicious writers have considered commerce as the handmaid of agriculture: if true there, with us it must be unquestionable. The United States have yet few factories to throw into the scale against the landed interest. We have in our lands full employment for our present inhabitants, and instead of sending colonies to newly discovered islands, we have adjoining townships and counties, whose vacant fields await the future increase of our people.

If a comparative view of the importance of our various interests should terminate in a conviction of the great superiority of agriculture over all the rest combined—if emigration and natural increase are daily adding to the number of our planters and farmers—if the states are possessed of millions of vacant acres, that court the cultivator's hand—if the settlement of these immense tracts will greatly and steadily increase the means of subsistence, the resources and powers of the country—if they will prove an inherent treasure of which neither folly nor chance can deprive us, let us be careful to do nothing, which may interrupt this happy progress of our affairs. Should we, from a misconception of our true interests, or from any other cause, form a system of commercial regulations, prejudicial to this great mass of property, and to this great body of the people, we must injure our country during the continuance of the error, and we must finally return, under the disadvantages of further changes,

to that plan, which it must be our sincere desire, as it is our serious duty, at this time to devise*.

While we feel an absolute conviction, that our true interests should restrain us from burdening or impeding agriculture in any way whatever, we must be ready to admit, that sound policy requires our giving every encouragement to commerce and its connexion†, which may be found consistent with a due regard to agriculture.

The communication between the different ports of every nation is a business entirely in their power—The policy of most countries has been to secure this domestic navigation to their own people. The extensive coasts, the immense bays and numerous rivers of the United States have already made this an important object, and it must increase with our population‡. As the places at which the cargoes of coasting vessels are delivered must be supplied with American produce from some part of the Union, and as the merchant can always have

* The state of information, connected with commercial legislation was very unsatisfactory in 1787. We had very few state documents, and less of national. To legislate then on the subject was a more difficult and uncertain business than it now is.—A. D. 1793.

† The fisheries and manufactures.

‡ The coasting vessels, entered at the custom-house of Philadelphia in the year 1785, were 567 sail; all the other entries of sea-vessels in the same year were 501.

American bottoms to transport the goods of the producing state to the state consuming them, no interruption to the market of the planters and farmers can be apprehended from prohibiting transportation in foreign bottoms from port to port within the United States—A single exception may perhaps be proper, permitting foreign vessels to carry from port to port, *for the purpose of finishing their sales*, any goods that shall be *part of the cargoes they brought into the Union, from the last foreign place at which they loaded*. The fleets of colliers on the British coast evince the possible benefits of such a regulation*.

The consumption of fish, oil, whalebone and other articles obtained through the fisheries, in the towns and counties that are convenient to navigation, has become much greater than is generally supposed. It is said that no less than five thousand barrels of mackarel, salmon and pickled cod-fish, are vended in the city of Philadelphia annually. Add to them the dried fish, oil, spermaceti candles, whalebone, &c. and it will be found that a little fleet of sloops and schooners must be employed in the business.

The demand for the use of the inhabitants of those parts of the Union to which these supplies

* The freight made by a foreign vessel from Boston to Philadelphia, or from New-York to Virginia, or from Philadelphia to Charleston, is a total loss to the United States.

can be carried, is already considerable, and the increase of our towns and manufactures will render it more so every year. In the present state of our navigation we can be in no doubt of procuring these supplies by means of our own vessels. The country that interferes most with us in our own market is Nova Scotia, which also, it is said, has had some emigrants from our fishing towns since the decline of their business. Such encouragement to this valuable branch of commerce, as would secure the benefits of it to our own people, without injuring our other essential interests, is certainly worth attention. The Convention will, probably, find on consideration of this point, that a duty or prohibition of foreign articles, such as our own fisheries supply, will be safe and expedient*.

The article in the British trade laws, which confines the importation of foreign goods to the bottoms of the country producing them, and of their own citizens, appears applicable to our situation. By means of those two flags we should be certain of the necessary importations, and we should throw out of each department of the carrying trade every competitor, except the ships of the nation by which the goods were produced or manufactured. All trade with several countries, such as China and India,

* The plan of the Convention was not at that time known. Instead of a power to lay particular duties being granted to Congress, the better grant of a power to regulate our national commerce was made.

whose vessels seldom or never make foreign voyages, would be secured in our own hands. It will be found, that a modified application of this regulation in practice, will be attended with no difficulties or inconveniencies, and besides the immediate benefits already mentioned, our merchants will be led *directly* to the *original* market for the supplies of which we stand in need. Instead of purchasing the goods of Russia or the East-Indies in England, France or Holland, our own ships will sail directly to the fountain from whence they have hitherto flowed to us through foreign channels. The credits given to us in Europe after the peace, kept us in the practice of going to a very few places, for all our importations. But they have trusted us in many instances at a dear rate indeed, and however useful credit may be as a supplement to our means of trade in this young country, it is very certain that we should first lay out, to the best advantage, our funds in hand.

These are the principal encouragements to foreign commerce, which occur at present as proper to form a part of a permanent system for the United States. Regulations for temporary purposes, such as restrictions and prohibitions affecting particular nations, it is not meant to speak of here. It must be observed, however, that they should be adopted with great prudence and deliberation, as they may affect us very unfavourably, if they should be tried in vain.

In taking measures to promote manufactures, we must be careful, that the injuries to agriculture and the general interests of commerce do not exceed the advantages resulting from them. *The circumstances of the country, as they relate to this business, should be dispassionately and thoroughly examined**. Tho' it is confessed that the United States have full employment for all their citizens in the extensive field of agriculture, yet as we have a valuable body of manufacturers already here, as many more will emigrate from Europe, most of whom may chuse to continue at their trades, and as we have some citizens so poor as not to be able to effect a little settlement on our waste lands, there is a real necessity for some wholesome general regulations on this head. By taking care not to force manufactures in those states, where the people are fewer, tillage much more profitable, and provisions dearer than in several others, we shall give agriculture its full scope in the former, and leave all the benefits of manufacturing (so far as they are within our reach) to the latter. South-Carolina, for example, must, in many instances, manufacture to an evident loss†, while the advancement of that business in Massachusetts will give the means of subsistence to many, whose occupations have been rendered unprofitable by the consequences of the revolution. A liberal policy on this subject should be adopted, and the

* This has been frequently done since 1786, and the subject is now reduced to some plain and safe principles.

† Domestic manufacturing must be always excepted.

produce of the southern states should be exchanged for such manufactures as can be made by the northern, free from impost*.

Another inducement to some salutary regulations on this subject, will be suggested by considering some of our means of conducting manufactures. Unless business of this kind is carried on, certain great *natural powers* of the country will remain inactive and useless. Our numerous mill seats, for example, by which flour, oil, paper, snuff, gunpowder, iron work, woolen cloaths, boards and scantling, and some other articles are prepared or perfected, would be given by Providence in vain. If properly improved, they will save us an immense expence for the wages, provisions, cloathing and lodging of workmen, without diverting the people from their farms—Fire, as well as water, affords, if we may so speak, a fund of assistance, that cannot lie unused without an evident neglect of our best interests. Breweries, which we cannot estimate too highly, distilleries, sugar houses, potteries, casting and steel furnaces, and several other works are carried on by this powerful element, and attended with the same savings, as were particularized in speaking of water machines—'Tis probable also that a frequent use of steam engines will add greatly to this class of factories. In some cases,

* From the clause in the Federal Constitution, which secures this advantage, a great spring is given to the coasting trade, and to American manufactures.

where fire and water are not employed, horses are made to serve the purpose as well, and on much lower terms than men. The cheapness and the easy encrease of these serviceable animals insure us this aid to any extent that occasion may require, which however is not likely to be very great.

The encouragement to agriculture, afforded by some manufactories, is a reason of solid weight in favour of carrying them on with industry and spirit. Malt liquors, if generally used, linseed oil, starch (and were they not a poison to our morals and constitutions we might add grain spirits) would require more grain to make them, than has been exported in any year since the revolution*.—We cannot omit to observe here, that beer strengthens the arm of the labourer without debauching him, while the noxious drink now used enervates and corrupts him—The workers in leather too of every kind, in flax and hemp, in iron, wood, stone and clay, in furs, horn, and many other articles employ either the spontaneous productions of the earth, or the fruits of cultivation.

If we are convinced, by these considerations, that regular factories of many kinds should be promoted in the most suitable part of the Union, let us next consider, whether the encouragements now held out to them are at present sufficient and proper.

* A sensible and well-informed English writer states the quantity of grain *made into drink* in Britain at twenty-four millions of bushels, valued at £.3,000,000 sterling.

The nearest rivals of our manufacturers are those of Europe, who are subjected to the following charges in bringing their goods into our market: The merchant's commission for shipping from the foreign port, and the same charge for selling here, the cost of packages, custom-house papers in Europe, and the same charge with a duty of five *per cent.* here*, porterages, freight, insurance, damage, interest of money, waste, and loss on exchange—These may be rated at twenty-five *per cent.* on the least bulky of our manufactures†. Here

* The duties have been raised, with a view to revenue, to at least $7\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* on all manufactured goods: and with a view to the protection of manufactures, they have been advanced upon several classes of articles to 10, $12\frac{1}{2}$, 15, and $15\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* The specific duties are much higher. *See table of duties.* A. D. 1793.

† We have no manufacture more compact than a piece of yard wide linen, equal to what cost 15*d.* sterling in Europe. The following minute calculation will shew the charges, under which a package of 100*l.* sterling value of that article can be imported.

	Currency.
64 pieces of linen of 25 yards each, will be 1600 yards,	
which, at 15 <i>d.</i> amount to 100 <i>l.</i> sterling, - -	166 13 4
Outward entry, debenture certificate, and searchers fees, portorage, wharfage, bill of lading in Europe are 15 <i>s.</i> sterling, or in currency - - -	1 5 0
Insurance to cover charges, commission for effecting and part policy, £.3 3 <i>s.</i> sterling, or currency, -	5 5 0
Cost of case, ropes, and packing, 15 <i>s.</i> sterling, -	1 5 0
One year's interest on first cost, and European charges on the goods, £.5 5 <i>s.</i> sterling, - - -	8 15 0
[N. B. This is too low, for the manufacturing houses put twice that advance upon what the goods are worth in <i>ca/b.</i>]	

Carried over,

£.183 3 4

is a solid premium, operating like a bounty, while it happily costs the consumer nothing but what he would otherwise be obliged to pay; for the charges of importation are unavoidable, and the duty being *merely for the purpose of revenue*, is applied to pay the public debts and expences of which he owes his proportion. This encouragement can be somewhat encreased *by exempting raw materials from duty*, which may be very safe and proper, and by addi-

C

	Currency.
Brought forward, - - -	£.183 3 4
Duty on the value of goods in America estimated at 16ol. currency for 100l. sterling cost, at 5 per cent.	8 0 0
Commission on shipping, £.183 4 4 in Europe, at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. - - -	4 11 7
Part custom-house bond and permit, and primage,	0 1 6
Commission on the sales and remitting, supposing the goods to sell for 210l. currency, per 100l. sterling cost, at $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. - - -	11 5 0
Freight of 13 1-3 feet, at $1\frac{1}{3}$ sterling per foot, -	1 7 9
Porterage, - - - -	0 1 0
	<hr/>
	208 10 2
Deduct the first cost as above, - -	166 13 4

£.25 2 1 sterling, being the charges, is equal to £. 41 16 10

In this calculation, waste, which of some articles is great, damages below 5 per cent. which the underwriters do not pay, injuries not within the risk insured, difference of exchange now 6 per cent. above par, and other losses on remitting, postages of letters, and bad debts on sales at a long credit, as well as the profit of the importer and the higher rate of duties, which several classes of goods pay are not taken notice of, though several of them really occur in every importation.

tional duties and prohibitions, which might induce the loss of the revenue and an injury to morals from smuggling, and would throw upon the other members of the commercial interest and the cultivators and improvers of our lands an unnecessary burden. The manufacturers are a judicious body of men, and love their country. There is every reason to confide therefore, that when they see a substantial advantage of twenty-five *per cent.* at least in favour of their goods, *which cannot be taken from them*, they will desire that government should refrain from further duties and prohibitions. This estimate being made upon the finest of our manufactures, it is evident that the more bulky and weighty would exhibit the advantages of our own workmen in a yet stronger light.

The clear air and powerful sun of America are other advantages which our manufacturers enjoy. When the linen and cotton branches shall become considerable, a great saving of time and money will be made by the climate, and where bleaching is effected principally by the sun and water, the quality of the cloth is known to be more excellent. The European process by drugs and machines impairs the strength. Ireland, it is confessed, with a climate very different from ours, is remarkable for the quality of its linens, but they do not equal the American homespun in strength. In confirmation of the above opinion, it may be mentioned, that there was a plan formed before the revolution, by a number of English merchants, of establishing a company

with a large capital, to import the *brown* linens of Europe to be bleached here for the supply of our markets.

In this country the consumer's money follows the delivery of the manufacture, therefore less capital is required. In every part of Europe extensive credits are given upon their goods. For tho' some nations have not got into the habit of trusting us, their own merchants are known to buy on easy terms of payment. France is, perhaps, as little accustomed to give these indulgencies as any other great country in Europe, yet nothing is paid for there, in less than two months, and the credits are extended from that time to twelve months according to the article. At the expiration of the term an accepted bill at sixty days is considered as prompt payment, so that the actual term of credit is from four months to fourteen.

To these might be added several other little advantages, the joint benefits of which are sensibly felt, but it is presumed that enough has been said to satisfy the just and patriotic mind, though concerned in the business, that a further addition of duties would not promote the general interests of the country. We must here beg leave however strenuously to recommend, that every duty on American produce or manufactures, impolitically and unkindly imposed by the laws of several of the states, should be taken off, and that the justice and sound policy of the alteration should be declared

and admitted in some public instrument: and as ships may be very properly considered as the greatest article we make, the tonnage on our own bottoms should be equalized throughout the Union, and the extra duties on goods imported in vessels not belonging to the state in which they are landed, should be done away—Complaints against the trade laws of foreign nations come not consistently from those who lay similar burdens on their sister states.

A further encouragement to manufactures will result from improvements and discoveries in agriculture—There are many raw materials, that could be produced in this country in abundance, which have hitherto been very limited. *Cotton* for many years before the revolution was not worth more than nine pence sterling in the West-India Islands. The perfection of the factories in Europe has raised it to such a pitch, that besides the prohibition against shipping it from the colonies to any foreign port, the price has risen fifty per cent. The consumers in Pennsylvania have paid near two shillings sterling for the importation of this year. This article must be worth the attention of the southern planters.

If the facts and observations in the preceding part of this paper be admitted to be true and just, and if we take into consideration with them the superiority of foreign commerce, and the fisheries over our manufactories*, we may come to the fol-

* A. D. 1787.

lowing conclusions—That the United States of America cannot make a proper use of the natural advantages of the country, nor promote her agriculture and other interests without manufactures, that they cannot enjoy the attainable benefits of commerce and the fisheries, without some general restrictions and prohibitions affecting foreign nations, that in forming these restrictions and prohibitions, as well as in establishing manufactories, there is occasion for the greatest deliberation and wisdom, that nothing may be introduced, *which can interfere with the sale of our produce, or with the settlement and improvement of our new lands.*

Among the political considerations, which must necessarily be admitted in treating of this subject, the force that may be required for our protection is not to be forgotten. It is certainly the greatest that attends it. America, we may assume, can have no inducement to engage in European wars. From our local situation we may keep ourselves long disengaged from them. The principal European nations would find us an unprofitable and troublesome enemy. The trade of France, Great-Britain, Spain, Holland and Portugal, which passes by our coasts, are a security against their hostilities. A war among them, in which we should take no part, would be more beneficial to our farmers, merchants and manufacturers than all the advantages we could obtain, if engaged in it ourselves. Our ships would carry for them, or instead of theirs, and our lands and manufactories would furnish the

supplies of their fleets and islands in the West-Indies. To counterbalance these advantages, and to pay the expences of a war would require captures rich and numerous indeed; but what would compensate us for the drain of peasantry and the lost opportunity of cultivating commerce and the arts of peace. A war merely offensive cannot be apprehended. The fortune of the British arms against America undisciplined and divided, will instruct our enemies to beware of invasions after the military lessons taken from that long and serious contest. Having no foreign colonies whose situation and weakness would subject them to their attacks, and having all our resources at hand to defend our own coasts, and cut up their trade in its passage by our doors, no European power will be inclined to insult or molest us. Should any of them be so insensible to their own interests, as to depart from the policy, which evidently ought to govern them, America, by acting in concert with the most powerful enemy of such hostile country, must commence a war, which however inconvenient and disagreeable to us, would be ruinous to their West-India trade, and fatal to their colonies. We are not destitute of resources and powers to injure them or defend ourselves. Our inland navigation, coasting trade and fisheries, and the portion of foreign commerce we must inevitably enjoy, are no inconsiderable nurseries for seamen. Good naval officers we should not want: they have never been scarce, and one happy effect of the revolution has certainly been to raise the reputation of the marine

life, and to increase the talents and respectability of its followers. Foreign seamen too, would find great temptations to enter on board our privateers and ships of war, and might be hired in any numbers we could pay. The increase of the strength and riches of the country, by filling up our vacant lands, is the infallible method by which the necessary means may be acquired.

It will not be amiss to draw a picture of our country, as it would really exist under the operation of a system of national laws formed upon these principles. While we indulge ourselves in the contemplation of a subject at once so interesting and dear, let us confine ourselves to substantial facts, and avoid those pleasing delusions into which the spirits and feelings of our countrymen have too often misled them.

In *the foreground* we should find the mass of our citizens—the cultivators (and what is happily for us in most instances the same thing) the independent proprietors of the soil. Every wheel would appear in motion that could carry forward the interests of this great body of our people, and bring into action the inherent powers of the country. A portion of the produce of our lands would be consumed in the families or employed in the business of our manufacturers—a further portion would be applied in the sustenance of our merchants and fishermen and their numerous assistants, and the remainder would be transported by those that could

carry it at the lowest freight (that is with the smallest deduction from the aggregate profits of the business of the country) to the best foreign markets. *On one side* we should see our manufacturers encouraging the tillers of the earth by the consumption and employment of the fruits of their labours, and supplying them and the rest of their fellow citizens with the instruments of their occupations, and the necessaries and conveniencies of life, in every instance wherein it could be done without unnecessarily distressing commerce and increasing the labours of the husbandmen, and the difficulties of changing our remaining wilds into scenes of cultivation and plenty. Commerce, *on the other hand*, attentive to the general interests, would come forward with offers to range through foreign climates in search of those supplies, which the manufacturers could not furnish but at too high a price, or which nature has not given us at home, in return for the surplus of those stores, that had been drawn from the ocean or produced by the earth.

On a review of the preceding facts and observations there appears good reason to believe, that the necessary measures might be taken to render our farms profitable and to improve our new lands, and that our manufactures, fisheries, navigation and trade, would still be considerable. The long voyage by which all interfering foreign articles must be brought to these markets, and *the inevitable necessity for a revenue*, give us, as hath been demonstrated, a virtual bounty of twenty-five *per*

cent. in favor of our own commodities, and this in the least favorable instances. When *returning* œconomy, and the fall of rents and provisions shall have reduced the expences of living, when our increasing farms shall have poured in their addition of raw materials, and we shall have felt the shortness of importation produced by the suffering of our credit abroad, and by the check which has been given to foreign adventurers in our trade, this difference of twenty-five *per cent.* will have a sensible effect*. Being rated on the whole value of the article, that is, as well on the labour as the raw materials, it is in fact fifty *per cent.* on the labour in all cases wherein the workmanship is half the value of the manufactured goods, and so in proportion where it is more. Beer, distilled liquors, pot-ash, gun-powder, cordage, loaf sugar, hanging and writing paper, snuff, tobacco, starch, anchors, nail rods, and many other articles of iron, bricks, tiles, potters ware, mill-stones, and other stone work, cabinet work, corn fans, Windsor chairs, carriages, saddlery, shoes and boots, and other wearing apparel, coarse linens, hats, a few coarse woolen articles, linseed oil, wares of gold and silver, tin and copper, some braziers, wool cards, worms and stills, and several other articles may be considered as established. These are tending to greater perfection, and will soon be sold so cheap as to throw foreign goods of the same kind entirely out of the market.

* This has now become very evident. A. D. 1793.

Many of the same circumstances, that favour the manufacturer, will render the fisheries more profitable, and from the cheapness of vessels, they will be carried on at less expence than in the few last years. The American market, where the consumption (with population) is increasing fast, may be entirely secured to them. Our manufactories and towns will annually make larger demands for candles, oil, whalebone and pickled fish, and it would be good policy to extend the consumption of the dried cod. The Danish and French islands, and the free ports in the West-Indies, receive some of the produce of the fisheries—France is likely to take off a considerable quantity, as also are the Spaniards, Portuguese and Italians, and the English will always want certain articles for their manufactories, though not to any great amount—New-England, the seat of the fisheries, has the great advantage of being the cheapest and most populous part of America. Its inhabitants are healthy, active and intelligent, and can be frugal; wherefore there appears good reason to be believe, that many factories will in the course of a very few years revive their declining towns.

The commercial citizens of America have for some time felt the deepest distress. Among the principal causes of their unhappy situation were the inconsiderate spirit of adventure to this country, which pervaded almost every kingdom in Europe, and the prodigious credits from thence given to our

merchants on the return of peace. To these may be added the high spirits and the golden dreams, which naturally followed such a war, closed with so much honor and success.—Triumphant over a great enemy, courted by the most powerful nations in the world, it was not in human nature that America should immediately comprehend her new situation. Really possessed of the means of future greatness, she anticipated the most distant benefits of the revolution, and considered them as already in her hands. She formed the highest expectations, many of which however, serious experience has taught her to relinquish, and now that the thoughtless adventures and imprudent credits from foreign countries take place no more*, and time has been given for cool reflection, she can see her real situation and need not be discouraged.

Our future trade may comprehend the fisheries, with the exclusive benefit of supplying our own markets, as hath been already observed. The coasting trade† will be entirely secured to us. The right of bringing the commodities of foreign countries may be divided with the ships of the nation from whom they come, or in those cases where they have no native ships, the carrying

* An application of the foregoing observations to the commercial subject, can only be admissible into this essay.

† This, though not in form, is yet, in effect, secured to us. The coasting trade will receive a great spring from the Chesapeake collieries in a few years, should no others be discovered on navigable water.

trade may be our own*. The revolution has opened to us some new branches of valuable commerce. The intercourse with France was next to none before the war, and with Russia†, India and China not thought of. With activity and strict economy we may pay Europe with some of the *produce* of India, for a part of the goods with which they supply us, and if we do not over-regulate trade, we shall be an *entrepot* of certain commodities for their West-Indian and South-American colonies. Besides these objects all the manufacturing countries and many free ports will be open to us, and we may adventure in foreign ships to a considerable extent, though it would be more desirable to employ our own. As the proposed regulations would compel the British or Dutch merchants, to import into the United States a part of the produce of France and Spain in American bottoms, so may ours serve the general interests of their country by sending tobacco to Sweden, or flour, rice and live stock to the British colonies in the vessels of the respective nations.

The foundations of national wealth and consequence are so firmly laid in the United States, that no *foreign* power can undermine or destroy them. But the enjoyment of these substantial blessings is

* This idea remains for consideration as before observed.

† With Russia it is not at present likely to be very great. Our products and manufactures are similar and bulky: Our positions remote.

rendered precarious by domestic circumstances. Scarcely held together by a weak and half formed federal constitution, the powers of our national government, are unequal to the complete execution of any salutary purpose, foreign or domestic. The evils resulting from this unhappy state of things have again shocked our reviving credit, produced among our people alarming instances of disobedience to the laws, and if not remedied, must destroy our property, liberties and peace. Foreign powers, however disposed to favor us, can expect neither satisfaction nor benefit from treaties with Congress, while they are unable to enforce them. We can therefore hope to secure no privileges from them, if matters are thus conducted. We must immediately remedy this defect or suffer exceedingly. Desultory commercial acts of the legislatures, formed on the impression of the moment, proceeding from no uniform or permanent principles, clashing with the laws of other states and opposing those made in the preceding year by the enacting state, can no longer be supported, if we are to continue one people. *A system which will promote the general interests with the smallest injury to particular ones has become indispensibly necessary.* Commerce is more affected by the distractions and evils arising from the uncertainty, opposition and errors of our trade laws, than by the restrictions of any one power in Europe. A negative upon all commercial acts of the legislatures, if granted to Congress would be perfectly safe, and must have an

excellent effect*. If thought expedient it should be given as well with regard to those that exist, as to those that may be devised in future. Congress would thus be enabled to prevent every regulation, that might oppose the general interests, and by restraining the states from impolitic laws, would gradually bring our national commerce to order and perfection.

We have ventured to hint at prohibitory powers, but shall leave that point and the general power of regulating trade to those who may undertake to consider the political objects of the Convention, suggesting only the evident propriety of enabling Congress to prevent the importation of foreign commodities, such as can be made from our own raw materials†. When any article of that kind can be supplied at home, upon as low terms as those on which it can be imported, a manufacture of *our own produce*, so well established, ought not by any means to be sacrificed to the interests of foreign trade, or subjected to injury by the wild speculations of ignorant adventurers. In all cases careful provision should be made for refunding the duties on exportation, which renders the impost a virtual excise without being liable to any of the objections which have been made against an actual one, and is a great encouragement to trade.

* The power over commerce granted by the federal constitution is far preferable to this.

† Though this should be most cautiously done, it merits careful attention.

The restoration of public credit at home and abroad should be the first wish of our hearts, and requires every economy, every exertion we can make. The wise and virtuous axioms of our political constitutions, resulting from a lively and perfect sense of what is due from man to man, should prompt us to the discharge of debts of such peculiar obligation. We stand bound to no common creditors. The friendly foreigner, the widow and the orphan, the trustees of charity and religion, the patriotic citizen, the war-worn soldier and a magnanimous ally—these are the principal claimants upon the feelings and justice of America. Let her apply all her resources to this great duty, and wipe away the darkest stain, that has ever fallen upon her. The general impost—the sale of the lands and every other unneccessary article of public property—restraining with a firm hand every needless expence of government and private life—steady and patient industry, with proper dispositions in the people, would relieve us of part of the burden, and enable Congress to commence their payments, and with the aid of taxation, would put the sinking and funding of our debts within the power of the United States.

The violence committed on the rights of property under the authority of tender laws in some of the states, the familiarity with which that pernicious measure has been recurred to, and the shameless perseverance with which it has been persisted in after the value of the paper was confessedly gone, call aloud for some remedy. This is not merely a

matter of justice between man and man. It dishonors our national character abroad, and the engine has been employed to give the *coup de grace* to public credit. It would not be difficult perhaps to form a new article* of confederation to prevent it in future, and a question may arise whether fellowship with any state, that would refuse to admit it, can be satisfactory or safe. To remove difficulties it need not be retrospective. The present state of things instead of inviting emigrants, deters all who have the means of information, and are capable of thinking. The settlement of our lands, and the introduction of manufactories and branches of trade yet unknown among us or requiring a force of capital, which are to make our country rich and powerful, are interrupted and suspended by our want of public credit and the numerous disorders of our government."

The measures of the convention of 1787, issued, as it is universally known, in imposing a *constitutional* prohibition upon paper emissions, paper tenders and other pernicious violations of the rights of property, in the confirmation of the foreign treaties by an act of the people, in the establishment of a national legislature with complete powers over

* This idea is most happily carried to the utmost length we could desire in the federal constitution and the clause is no less favorable to commerce than to private virtue and national honour.

commerce and navigation, defence, war and peace, money, and all the other great objects of national economy. The consequences of this wise and singular effort of the American people are beginning to be known to the world, and some of them will appear in the latter chapters of this volume.

CHAPTER III.

SKETCHES OF THE SUBJECT OF AMERICAN MANUFACTURES
IN 1787, PREPARATORY TO EXERTIONS FOR THEIR AD-
VANCEMENT AND INCREASE.

THE various political disorders of 1787, and the want of *national* system, affected very severely a number of persons in the large towns, who were engaged in the different branches of manufactures. These were more numerous and much more important, than was at that time perceived by persons of the closest observation. The laws of some of the states imposed considerable duties upon the fabrics of all the rest; in some instances as high as the impost on similar articles manufactured in foreign countries. The remains of the excessive importations of the four preceding years were constantly offered for sale at prices lower than their cost in Europe, and less than they could be made for in America. From a deep sense of these inconveniencies exertions were commenced, in various parts of the United States, by persons of all descriptions, to relieve the manufacturing citizens; which appeared the more desirable to many, because the necessary measures tended, at the same time, to promote *the great cause of union among the states*, and to repress habits of expense, which the war, and the peace likewise, though from very different causes, had introduced into most of the towns, and into too many parts of the country.

The citizens of Philadelphia took a very active part in these salutary measures, and instituted a society, which afterwards proved of considerable utility, to carry their views into execution. The address, which is comprized in this chapter, was prepared in consequence of a request from one of the meetings, which were held by the promoters of the institution, and other patrons of the internal trade and manufactures of the United States.

An Address to an assembly of the friends of American manufactures, convened for the purpose of establishing a Society for the encouragement of Manufactures and the useful arts, in the University of Pennsylvania, on Thursday, the 9th of August, 1787, and published at their request.

GENTLEMEN,

WHILE I obey with sincere pleasure the commands of the respectable assembly whom I have now the honor to address, I feel the most trying emotions of anxiety and apprehension in attempting to perform so difficult and serious a duty, as that prescribed to me at our last meeting. The importance and novelty of the subject, the injurious consequences of mistaken opinions on it and your presence necessarily excite feelings such as these. They are lessened however, by the hope of some benefit to that part of my fellow citizens, who depend for comfort on our native manufactures, and by an ardent wish to promote every measure, that will give to our new-born states the strength of man-

hood. Supported by these considerations and relying on the kind indulgence, which is ever shewn to well-meant endeavours, however unsuccessful, I shall venture to proceed.

Providence has bestowed upon the United States of America means of happiness, as great and numerous, as are enjoyed by any country in the world. A soil fruitful and diversified—a healthful climate—mighty rivers and adjacent seas abounding with fish are the great advantages for which we are indebted to a beneficent creator. Agriculture, manufactures and commerce, naturally arising from these sources, afford to our industrious citizens certain subsistence and innumerable opportunities of acquiring wealth. *To arrange our affairs in salutary and well digested systems*, by which the fruits of industry, in every line, may be most easily attained, and the possession of property and the blessings of liberty may be completely secured—these are the important objects, that should engross our present attention. The interests of commerce and the establishment of a just and effective government are already committed to the care of THE AUGUST BODY* now sitting in our capital.—The importance of agriculture has long since recommended it to the patronage of numerous associations, and the attention of all the legislatures—but manufactures, at least in Pennsylvania, have had but few unconnected friends, till found policy and public spirit gave a late, but auspicious birth, to this Society.

* The Federal Convention.

The situation of America before the revolution was very unfavourable to the objects of this institution. The prohibition of most foreign raw materials—considerable bounties in England for carrying away the unwrought productions of this country to that, as well as on exporting British goods from their markets—the preference for those goods, which habit carried much beyond what their excellence would justify, and many other circumstances, created artificial impediments which appeared almost insuperable. Several branches however were carried on with great advantage. But as long as we remained in our colonial situation, our progress was very slow; and indeed the necessity of attention to manufactures was not so urgent, as it has become since our assuming an independent station. The employment of those, whom the decline of navigation† has deprived of their usual occupations—the consumption of the increasing produce of our lands and fisheries, and the certainty of supplies in the time of war are very weighty reasons for establishing new manufactories now, which existed but in a small degree, or not at all, before the revolution.

While we readily admit, that in taking measures to promote the objects of this society, *nothing should be attempted, which may injure our agricultural interests*, they being undoubtedly the most important, we must observe in justice to ourselves, that very many of our citizens, who are expert at

† A. D. 1787.

manufactures and the useful arts, are entirely unacquainted with rural affairs, or unequal to the expences of a new settlement; and* *many* we may believe, will come among us invited to our shores *from foreign countries*, by the blessings of liberty, civil and religious. We may venture to assert too, that more profit to the individual and riches to the nation will be derived from some manufactures, which promote agriculture, than from any species of cultivation† whatever. The truth of this remark however, will be better determined, when the subject shall be further considered.

Let us first endeavour to disencumber manufactures of the objections, that appear against them, the principal of which are, *the high rate of labour*, which involves the price of provisions—*the want of a sufficient number of hands* on any terms,—*the scarcity and dearth of raw materials*—*want of skill* in the business itself and *its unfavorable effects on the health of the people*.

Factories which can be carried on by water-mills, wind-mills, fire, horses and machines ingeniously contrived, are not burdened with any heavy expence of boarding, lodging, clothing and paying

* This has been the great dependance and the great means in the business of handicraft manufactures in Pennsylvania.

† The manufacture of malt liquors and fruit and corn spirits might be the means of preventing the importation of rum, brandy, gin, &c. which must amount to two millions of dollars per annum taking in all our ports.

workmen, and they supply the force of hands to a great extent without taking our people from agriculture. By wind and water machines we can make pig and bar iron, nail rods, tire, sheet-iron, sheet-copper, sheet-brass, anchors, meal of all kinds, gun-powder, writing, printing and hanging paper, snuff, linseed oil, boards, plank and scantling*; and they assist us in finishing scythes, sickles and woollen cloths. Strange as it may appear they also card, spin and even weave, it is said, by water in the European factories. Bleaching and tanning† must not be omitted, while we are speaking of the usefulness of water.

By fire we conduct our breweries, distilleries, salt and potash works, sugar houses, potteries, casting and steel furnaces, works for animal and vegetable oils and refining drugs‡. Steam mills have not yet been adopted in America, but we shall probably see them after a short time in places, where there are few mill seats and in this and other great towns of the United States. The city of Philadel-

* One mill of Ramsey's (the improvement on Barker's) near Philadelphia, grinds by water, chocolate, flour, snuff, hair-powder, and mustard, and shells chocolate nuts; also presses and cuts tobacco for chewing and smokeing, and boulds meal.

† The leather branch in Great-Britain is estimated at eleven millions of pounds sterling, or more than a fifth of all their staple manufactures, and we eat more meat than they, and have the command of much more deer-skins.

‡ The American improvements in steam have been brought forward since this publication.

phia, by adopting the use of them, might make a great saving on all the grain brought hither by water, which is afterwards manufactured into meal, and they might be usefully applied to many other valuable purposes.

Horses give us, in some instances, a relief from the difficulties we are endeavouring to obviate. They grind the tanners bark and potters clay; they work the brewers and distillers pumps, and might be applied, by an inventive mind, as the moving principle of many kinds of mills*.

Machines ingeniously constructed, will give us immense assistance.—The cotton and silk manufacturers in Europe are possessed of some, that are invaluable to them. Several instances have been ascertained, in which a few hundreds of women and children perform the work of thousands of carders, spinners and winders. In short, combinations of machines with fire and water have already accomplished much more than was formerly expected from them by the most visionary enthusiast on the subject. Perhaps I may be too sanguine, but they appear to me fraught with immense advantages to us, and not a little dangerous to the manufacturing nations of Europe; for should they continue to use and improve them, as they have heretofore done, their people may be driven to us for want of employment, and if, on the other hand, they should

* We might cut stone and marble by horse and *water* mills. In Italy the *latter* is the mode.

return to manual labour, we may underwork them by these invaluable engines. We may certainly borrow some of their inventions*, and others of the same nature we may strike out ourselves; for on the subject of mechanism America may justly pride herself. Every combination of machinery may be expected from a country, A NATIVE SON of which, reaching this inestimable object at its highest point, has epitomized the motions of the spheres, that roll throughout the universe†.

The lovers of mankind, supported by experienced physicians, and the opinions of enlightened politicians, have objected to manufactures as unfavourable to the health of the people. Giving to this humane and important consideration its full weight, it furnishes an equal argument against several other occupations, by which we obtain our comforts and promote our agriculture. The painting business for instance—reclaiming marshes—clearing swamps—the culture of rice and indigo and some other employments, are even more fatal to those, who are engaged in them. But this objection is urged principally against carding, spinning and weaving, which *formerly* were entirely manual and sedentary occupations. Our plan, as we have already shewn, is not to pursue those modes unless in cases parti-

* 1790. We have since obtained the mill for spinning flax, hemp and wool.

† David Rittenhouse, of Pennsylvania.

cularly circumstanced, for we are sensible that our people must not be diverted from their farms. *Horses, and the potent elements of fire and water, aided by the faculties of the human mind, are to be in many instances, our daily labourers**. After giving immediate relief to the industrious poor, these unhurtful means will be pursued and will procure us private wealth and national prosperity.

Emigration from Europe will also assist us. The blessings of civil and religious liberty in America, and the oppressions of most foreign governments, the want of employment at home and the expectations of profit here, curiosity, domestic unhappiness, civil wars and various other circumstances will bring many manufacturers to this asylum for mankind. Ours will be their industry, and, what is of still more consequence, ours will be their skill. Interest and necessity, with such instructors, will teach us quickly. In the last century the manufactures of France were next to none; they are now worth millions to her yearly. Those of England have been more improved within the last twelve years, than in the preceding fifty. At the peace of 1762, the useful arts and manufactures were scarcely known in America. How great has been their progress since, unaided, undirected and discouraged. Countenanced by your patronage and promoted by your assistance, what may they not be 'ere such another space of time shall elapse?

* So far as we depend on our own resources.

Wonderful as it must appear, the manufacturers of beer, that best of all our commodities, have lately been obliged to import malt from England. Here must be inexcusable neglect, or a strange blindness to our most obvious interests. The cultivation of barley should certainly be more attended to, and if I mistake not exceedingly, the present abundant crop of wheat* will so fill our markets, that the farmer, who shall reap barley the ensuing year, will find it the most profitable of all the grains. We cannot, however, have any permanent difficulty on this article†.

Of flax and hemp little need be said, but that we can encrease them as we please, which we shall do according to the demand.

Wool must become much more abundant, as our country populates. Mutton is the best meat for cities, manufactories, seminaries of learning, and poor houses, and should be given by rule as in England. The settlement of our new lands, remote from water carriage, must introduce much more pasturage and grazing, than has been heretofore necessary, as sheep, horses and horned cattle will carry themselves to market through roads impassable by waggons. The foreign re-

* The price of flour had fallen in December, 1788, to 30s. per barrel. The French demand then took place and raised it on a medium since to 38s. and 40s. and often more.

† The importation of malt has ceased, and the breweries are greatly encreased. A. D. 1793.

strictions on our trade will also tend to encrease the number of sheep. Horses and horned cattle used to form a great part of the New-England cargoes for the English West-India islands. These animals are exported to those places now in smaller numbers, as our vessels are excluded from their ports.—The farms, capital and men, which were formerly employed in raising them, will want a market for their usual quantity, and the nature of that country being unfit for grain, sheep must occupy a great proportion of their lands.

Cotton thrives as well in the southern states, as in any part of the world. The West India islands and those states raised it formerly, when the price was not half what it has been for years past in Europe*. It is also worth double the money in America, which it sold for before the revolution, all the European nations having prohibited the exportation of it from their respective colonies to any foreign country†. It is much to be desired, that the southern planters would adopt the cultivation of an article from which the best informed manufacturers calculate the greatest profits, and on which some established factories depend.

* A. D. 1787.

† There was a long and great mercantile speculation that had a great artificial effect. But this bubble being broken by the increase of cotton from their islands, and the importations from Surat, Bombay, &c. the price is now much reduced. It is supposed to be now in America about 25 per cent. higher than in the five years preceding the revolution war. We have imported cotton into America since this publication from Bombay and Mauritius.

Silk has long been a profitable production of Georgia and other parts of the United States, and may be encreased, it is presumed, as fast as the demand will rise. This is the strongest of all raw materials and the great empire of China, though abounding with cotton, finds it the cheapest cloathing for her people*.

Iron we have in great abundance, and a sufficiency of lead and copper, were labour low enough to extract them from the bowels of the earth.

Madder has scarcely been attempted, but this and many other dye stuffs may be cultivated to advantage, or found in America.

Under all the disadvantages which have attended manufactures and the useful arts, it must afford the most comfortable reflection to every patriotic mind, to observe their progress in the United States and particularly in Pennsylvania. For a long time after our forefathers sought an establishment in this place, then a dreary wilderness, every thing neces-

* A. D. 1789. Forty-three chests of this article were imported from China in the last ships and re-shipped to Europe advantageously. We have a large nursery of the white Italian mulberry established here this summer. Within ourselves little can be expected, but the idea of the nursery has been encouraged upon this principle that it prepares things for an emigration from a silk country. This perhaps is refining, but the expence is small—the trees are wanted to replace those destroyed by the British army—and the measure falls in with our plan to *foster and encourage*, but *not to force* manufactures.

fary for their simple wants was the work of European hands. How great—how happy is the change. The list of articles we now make ourselves, if particularly enumerated would fatigue the ear, and waste your valuable time. Permit me however to mention them under their general heads: meal of all kinds, ships and boats, malt liquors, distilled spirits, pot-ash, gun powder, cordage, loaf sugar, pasteboard, cards and paper of every kind, books in various languages, snuff, tobacco, starch, cannon, musquets, anchors, nails and very many other articles of iron, bricks, tiles, potters ware, mill-stones and other stone work, cabinet work, trunks and Windsor chairs, carriages and harness of all kinds, corn fans, ploughs and many other implements of husbandry, saddlery and whips, shoes and boots, leather of various kinds, hosiery, hats and gloves, wearing apparel, coarse linens and woollens, and some cotton goods, linseed and fish oil, wares of gold, silver, tin, pewter, lead, brass and copper clocks and watches, wool and cotton cards, printing types, glass and stone ware, candles, soap and several other valuable articles with which the memory cannot furnish us at once.

If the nations of Europe possess some great advantages over us in manufacturing for the rest of the world, it is however clear, that there are some capital circumstances in our favour, when they meet us *in our own markets*. The expences of importing raw materials, which in some instances they labour under, while we do not—the same charges

in bringing their commodities hither—the duties we must lay on their goods for the purposes of revenue—the additional duties, which we may venture to impose without risking the corruption of morals or the loss of the revenue by smuggling—the prompt payment our workmen receive—the long credits they give on their goods—the sale of our articles by the piece to the consumer, while they sell theirs by great invoices to intermediate purchasers—the durable nature of some American manufactures, especially of linens—the injuries theirs often sustain from their mode of bleaching—these things taken together will give us an advantage of twenty-five to fifty *per cent.* on many articles, and must work the total exclusion of several others.

Besides the difference in the qualities of American and European linens, arising from the mode of bleaching, there is a very considerable saving of expence from the same cause. So much and so powerful a sunshine saves a great loss of time and expence of bleaching stuffs and preparations, and this will be sensibly felt in our manufactures of linen and cotton.

We must carefully examine the conduct of other countries in order to possess ourselves of their methods of encouraging manufactories and pursue such of them, as apply to our situation, so far as it may be in our power—exempting raw materials, dye stuffs, and certain implements for manufacturing

from duty on importation is a very proper measure. Premiums for useful inventions and improvements, whether foreign or American, for the best experiments in any unknown matter, and for the largest quantity of any valuable raw material must have an excellent effect. They would assist the efforts of industry, and hold out the noble incentive of honourable distinction to merit and genius. The state might with great convenience enable an enlightened society, established for the purpose, to offer liberal rewards in land for a number of objects of this nature. Our funds of that kind are considerable and almost dormant. An unsettled tract of a thousand acres, as it may be paid for at this time, yields little money to the state. By offering these premiums for useful inventions to any citizen of the union, or to any foreigner, who would become a citizen, we might often acquire in the man a compensation for the land, independently of the merit which gave it to him. If he should be induced to settle among us with a family and property, it would be of more consequence to the state than all the purchase money.

It might answer an useful purpose, if a committee of this society should have it in charge to visit every ship arriving with passengers from any foreign country, in order to enquire what persons they may have on board capable of constructing useful machines, qualified to carry on manufacture, or coming among us with a view to that kind of employment. It would be a great relief and encourage-

ment to those friendless people in a land of strangers, and would fix many among us whom little difficulties might incline to return*.

Extreme poverty and idleness in the citizens of a free government will ever produce vicious habits and disobedience to the laws, and must render the people fit instruments for the dangerous purposes of ambitious men. In this light the employment, in manufactures, of such of our poor, as cannot find other honest means of subsistence, is of *the utmost consequence*. A man oppressed by extreme want is prepared for all evil, and the idler is ever prone to wickedness; while the habits of industry, filling the mind with honest thoughts, and requiring the time for better purposes, do not leave leisure for meditating or executing mischief.

† An extravagant and wasteful use of foreign manufactures, has been too just a charge against the people of America, since the close of the war. They have been so cheap, so plenty and so easily obtained on credit, that the consumption of them has been absolutely wanton. To such an excess has it been carried, that the importation of the finer kinds of coat, vest and sleeve buttons, buckles,

* There are many societies in Philadelphia, New-York, &c. for the patronage of emigrators from foreign countries.

† In this particular there has been a meritorious reform, amply compensating every good citizen for the ~~exertions~~ exertions he may have made to promote manufactures.

broaches, breast-pins, and other trinkets into this port only, is supposed to have amounted in a single year to ten thousand pounds sterling, which cost wearers above 60,000 dollars. This lamentable evil has suggested to many enlightened minds a wish for sumptuary regulations, and even for an unchanging national dress suitable to the climate, and the other circumstances of the country. A more general use of such manufactures as we can make ourselves, would wean us from the folly we have just now spoken of, and would produce, in a less exceptionable way, some of the best effects of sumptuary laws. Our dresses, furniture and carriages would be fashionable, because they were American and proper in our situation, not because they were foreign, shewy or expensive. Our farmers, to their great honour and advantage, have been long in the excellent economical practice of domestic manufactures for their own use, at least in many parts of the union. It is chiefly in the towns that this madness for foreign finery rages and destroys—There unfortunately the disorder is epidemic. It behoves us to consider our untimely passion for European luxuries as a malignant and alarming symptom, threatening convulsions and dissolution to the political body. Let us hasten then to apply the most effectual remedies, ere the disease becomes inveterate, lest unhappily we should find it incurable.

I cannot conclude this address, gentlemen, without taking notice of *the very favourable and prodigious*

gious effects upon the landed interest, which may result from manufactures. The breweries of Philadelphia, in their present infant state, require forty thousand bushels of barley annually, and when the stock on hand of English beer shall be consumed, will call for a much larger quantity*. Could the use of malt liquors be more generally introduced, it would be, for many reasons, a most fortunate circumstance. Without insisting on the pernicious effects of distilled spirits, it is sufficient for our present purpose to observe, that a thousand hogheads of rum and brandy†, mixt with water for common use, will make as much strong drink as will require one hundred and twenty thousand bushels of grain to make an equivalent quantity of beer, besides the horses, fuel, hops, and other articles of the country, which a brewery employs. The fruits of the earth and the productions of nature in America are also required by various other manufacturers, whom you will remember without enumeration. But it is not in their occupations only, that these valuable citizens demand our native commodities. They and their brethren, who work in foreign articles, with their wives, children and servants, necessarily consume in food and raiment a prodigious quantity of our produce, and the buildings for the accommodation of their families and business are princi-

* This presumption has been fully realized. We have besides, a very lively export trade in malt liquors and if we had a sufficiency of black beer bottles, it must become very great.

† Worth about £.20,000, and our imports of ardent spirits are estimated at ten times that sum in the port of Philadelphia only.

pally drawn from our lands. Their effects upon agriculture are of more consequence than has ever been supposed by those, who have not made the necessary estimates. So great are the benefits to the landed interest, which are derived from them, that I venture to assert without apprehension of mistake, that the value of American productions annually applied to their various uses as above stated, without including the manufacturers of flour, lumber and bar-iron, is double the aggregate amount of all our exports in the most plentiful year with which Providence has ever blessed this fruitful country. How valuable is this market for our encreasing produce—How clearly does it evince the importance of our present plan. But we may venture to proceed a step further—Without manufactures the progress of agriculture would be arrested on the frontiers of Pennsylvania*. Though we have a country practicable for roads, some of our western counties are yet unable to support them, and too remote perhaps to use land carriage of the most easy kind. Providence has given them, in certain prospect, a passage by water; but the natural impediments, though very inconsiderable, and the more cruel obstructions arising from political circumstances, are yet to be removed. The inhabitants of the fertile tracts adjacent to the waters of

* Manufacturing establishments on the banks of Susquehaunah are of the *utmost* consequence to our western and mid-land counties. It is supposed that the manufacture of distilled spirits in the country on the waters of the Ohio around Pittsburg, has occasioned, a surplus to be sent down that river of 100,000 gallons.

the Ohio, Patowmac and Susquehannah, besides the cultivation of grain, must extend their views immediately to pasturage and grazing and even to manufactures. Foreign trade will not soon take off the fruits of their labour *in their native state*. They must manufacture first for their own consumption, and when the advantages of their mighty waters shall be no longer suspended, they must become the greatest factory of American raw materials for the United States. Their resources in wood and water are very great, as are their mines of coal. As they do not sell much grain, but for home consumption and must propagate sheep and cattle for the reasons above stated, their country will in a short time be the cheapest upon earth.

How numerous and important then, do the benefits appear, which may be expected from this salutary design! It will consume our native productions now encreasing to superabundance—it will improve our agriculture, and teach us to explore the fossil and vegetable kingdoms, into which few researches have heretofore been made—it will accelerate the improvement of our internal navigation and bring into action the dormant powers of nature and the elements—it will lead us once more into the paths of public virtue by restoring frugality and industry, those potent antidotes to the vices of mankind; and will give us real independence by rescuing us from the tyranny of foreign fashions, and the destructive torrent of luxury*.

* There is one *peculiar* means of advancement in the United States of the most striking and serious importance, as it regards ma-

Should these blessed consequences ensue those severe restrictions of the European nations, which have already impelled us to visit the most distant regions of the eastern hemisphere, defeating the schemes of short-sighted politicians, will prove, through the wisdom and goodness of Providence, the means of our **POLITICAL SALVATION**.

Opinions had prevailed in America, that manufacturing employments were injurious to the best interests of the country, that the pursuit of agriculture should occupy all our citizens, and that labour was so dear as to preclude all chances of success. Yet it was observed that many emigrators, and others in the manufacturing branches, had actually succeeded, and it was manifest that the civil and

manufactures. Being an unimproved country, we have the inestimable advantage of importing skillful cultivators of raw materials and *manufactures* from nations, which are more advanced than we are, together with their capital and their skill. We can have no doubt of the fulfilling of this expectation, for every town and county of the middle and southern states, and many of those in the eastern states abound with proofs, that the hope has been already realized in numerous instances. But were these proofs wanting there could be no doubt that strangers of every description will resort to a country so fit for their reception—so pregnant with the means of human happiness.

religious freedom of the country, and the low price of food, of fuel and of raw materials would continue to attract persons of that description. Further investigation and reflection threw new and pleasing lights upon the subject. It was perceived, that children, too young for labour, could be kept from idleness and rambling, and of course from early temptations, to vice, by placing them for a time in manufactories, and that the means of their parents to clothe, feed and educate them could be thereby increased; that women, valetudinarians and old men could be employed; that the portions of time of housewives and young women, which were not occupied in family affairs, could be profitably filled up, that machinery, horses, *i.e.*, water and various processes requiring only some incipient labour, were the principal means of manufacturing in Britain, that manufactures, instead of impeding agriculture in that country, are actually its greatest and most certain support, and that, in truth, *they are indispensibly necessary to the prosperity of its landed interest.* It has been ascertained on further examination, that wages in several parts of the United States are not higher than in parts of Britain, as had been erroneously supposed, especially taking into consideration the prices of provisions and the same degree of comfortable living. It was therefore confidently expected by many, who carefully examined the subject, that great advantages would result from a rational, and steady course of attention, private and public, to the advancement of manufactures. It will appear in the sequel,

that the prudent exertions, which have been incessantly made have been crowned accordingly with abundant success, considering the shortness of the time and how many other matters of great importance have called for attention, industry and capital in the United States.

CHAPTER IV.

A SUMMARY VIEW OF THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, INTENDED TO EXHIBIT TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE POPULATED DISTRICTS OF THE OTHER STATES, AND TO FOREIGNERS THE REAL, AND GREAT ADVANTAGES TO BE OBTAINED BY TRADE, MANUFACTURES AND PURCHASES OF ESTATES THEREIN, AND BY MIGRATION THITHER.

THE judicious and temperate proceedings of the American people in the reform of their national constitution in 1787, 1788, and 1789, the magnanimous resolution *to impose upon themselves the wholesome restraints of a just government*, which they exhibited to each other and to mankind, the moderation and impartiality of their deportment to foreign nations under their new government, and their early attention to the restoration of public credit at home and abroad were followed by the most beneficial consequences in the beginning of 1790. The little essay, which enters into the composition of this chapter, was published about the middle of that year in order to remind the people of the state of Pennsylvania, in which it was written, of their prospects of future comfort, and to facilitate the answers to numerous enquiries, which were beginning to be made concerning that state by persons of various descriptions in other countries. It was sincerely intended to be an unexaggerated statement of the principal facts on which

depend the comforts and prosperity of the inhabitants of that part of the American union.

Notes on the state of Pennsylvania.

THE state of Pennsylvania is an oblong, of about one hundred and fifty-six miles wide from north to south, by about two hundred and ninety miles in length from east to west. On the east of it lies the Delaware river, dividing it from West-Jersey and New-York; on the north New-York, and a territory of about two hundred thousand acres on lake Erie, which Pennsylvania purchased of Congress. On the north west lies lake Erie, on which it has a considerable front and a good port, lying within the purchase from Congress, on the west are the new lands called the western territory, and a part of Virginia: On the south lie another part of Virginia, Maryland, and the state of Delaware. The contents of Pennsylvania are about twenty-nine millions of acres, including the lake Erie territory. It lies between $39^{\circ} 43''$ and 42° of north latitude. The bay and river of Delaware are navigable from the sea up to the great falls at Trenton, and have a light-house, buoys, and piers, for the direction and safety of ships. On this river are the small towns of Chester and Bristol, and the city of Philadelphia, which is the capital of the state, and by much the largest and most populous sea-port and manufacturing town in the United States. The distance of this city from the sea is about sixty miles across the land to the New-Jersey coast, and one hundred and twenty

miles by the ship-channel of the Delaware. A seventy gun ship may lie before the town, and at many of the wharves, which occupy the whole east front of the city for near two miles, affording every vessel an opportunity of unlading and lading without the expence of lighterage. Rafts of masts, timber, boards, hoops and staves, with other articles upon them, can be brought down the Delaware from the counties of Montgomery and Otsego, in New-York, two hundred miles above the city, by the course of the river. Some money was expended by the government and landholders in improving the navigation up towards the source, before the revolution; and there has been a survey lately begun, for the purpose of proceeding in the improvement of this and other principal rivers of Pennsylvania, and for making communications by canals in the improved part, and by roads in the unimproved part of the state. The Pennsylvanians are much inclined to such enterprises, having found great benefit from them. On the completion of the present plan, the state will be more conveniently intersected by roads than any other of its size in the union, which will greatly facilitate the settlement of its new lands. A slight view of the map of Pennsylvania, by Howell, that in Mr. Jefferson's notes on Virginia, or that in Morse's geography, will shew how advantageously this state is watered by the Delaware and its branches, the Schuylkill, the Juniata, the Susquehanna and its branches, the Ohio, Allegeny, Youghiogeny, and Monongahela. The Patowmac and lake Erie also

afford prospects of considerable benefit from their navigation. Nature has done much for Pennsylvania in regard to inland water carriage, which is strikingly exemplified by this fact, that although Philadelphia and lake Erie are distant from each other above three hundred miles, there is no doubt that the rivers of the state may be so improved, as to reduce the land carriage between them nine tenths. In the same way the navigation to Pittsburg, after due improvement, may be used instead of land carriage for the whole distance, except twenty or thirty miles—By these routes it is clear, that a large proportion of the foreign articles, used on the western waters, will be transported; and that their furs, skins, ginseng, hemp, flax, pot-ash, and other valuable commodities, may be brought to Philadelphia. The hemp and oak timber for the Russian navy is transported by inland navigation one thousand two hundred miles: and yet hemp is shipped from that kingdom on lower terms than from any other part of the world. Russia, for some time after the settlement of Pennsylvania by civilized and enlightened people, was in a state of absolute barbarism, and destitute of these improvements. Much therefore is to be expected from the continued exertions of the prudent, industrious and intelligent inhabitants of Pennsylvania, in the course of the present century*

* In the last three years more public funds and private capital have been applied to the improvement of roads and rivers and the cutting of canals than in all the time between the year 1790 and the first settlement of the state. A. D. 1793.

Considerable bodies of new lands in this state remain for sale by individuals. Purchases can be always made, partly or wholly on credit, from those persons, who take mortgages on the lands they sell to emigrants, and indulge them sometimes with a very easy credit. The Pennsylvanians having no disputes with the Indians about boundaries. All the lands within the state having been purchased at a fair and open treaty, and there being some settlements westward of Pennsylvania on the new lands of Congress, we have little apprehensions from the Indians any where; and in most of our new country there is no danger at all.

Improved lands, in the old counties of this state, sell generally at a certain sum for a farm, including the buildings. This, before the war, was, in most of the thick settled counties within a day's ride of Philadelphia, from four pounds ten shillings sterling, to thirty shillings per acre, and less, according to the quality, unless in situations very near the city or some town, or in cases of very valuable buildings, mills, taverns, or situations for country trade. In one or two counties, remarkable for their richness of the lands, they sold higher, sometimes considerably. Farms can be purchased upon terms as favourable as then, owing to the quantity of new lands for sale in this and several other states; and owing to the many new and profitable uses for money, which did not exist before the revolution.

The produce, manufactures, and exports of Pennsylvania are very many and various, viz. wheat,

flour, midlings, ship-stuff, bran, shorts, ship-bread, white water biscuit, rye, rye flour, Indian corn, or maize, Indian meal, buckwheat, buckwheat meal, bar and pig iron, steel, nail rods, nails, iron hoops, rolled iron tire, gun-powder*, cannon ball, iron cannon, musquets, ships, boats, oars, hand-spikes, masts, spars, ship-timber, ship-blocks, cordage, square timber, scantling, plank, boards, staves, heading, shingles, wooden hoops, tanners' bark, corn fans, coopers' ware, bricks, coarse earthen or potter' ware, a very little stone-ware, glue, parchment, shoes, boots, foal-leather, upper leather, dressed deer and sheep skins, and gloves and garments thereof, fine hats, many common, and a few coarse; thread, cotton, worsted, and yarn hosiery; writing, wrapping, blotting, sheathing and hanging paper; stationary, playing cards, pasteboards, books; wares of brass, pewter, lead, tinplate, copper, silver and gold; clocks and watches, musical instruments, snuff, manufactured tobacco, chocolate, mustard-seed and mustard, flaxseed, flaxseed oil, flax, hemp, wool, wool and cotton cards, pickled beef, pork, shad, herrings, tongues and sturgeon, hams and other bacon, tallow, hogs' lard, butter, cheese, candles, soap, bees-wax, loaf-sugar, pot and pearl ashes, rum and other strong waters, beer, porter, hops, winter and summer barley, oats, spelts, onions, potatoes, turnips, cabbages, carrots,

* It is said there are at this time near 50,000 quarter casks of gun-powder in the Philadelphia magazine, manufactured in the state of Pennsylvania —A. D. 1793.

parsnips, red and white clover, timothy, and most European vegetables and grasses, apples, peaches, plumbs, pears, and apricots, grapes, both native and imported, and other European fruits, working and pleasurable carriages, horses, horned cattle, sheep, hogs, wood for cabinet makers, lime-stone, coal, free-stone and marble.

Some of these productions are fine, some indifferent. Some of the manufactures are considerable, for a young country, circumstanced as this has been; some inconsiderable: but they are enumerated, to shew the general nature of the state, and the various pursuits of the inhabitants. In addition to them we may mention, that a lead-mine and two or three salt-springs have been discovered in our new country, which will, no doubt, be worked, as soon as the demand for lead and salt to the westward increases. We ought also to notice our great forests for making pot ashes, and glass.

The manufactures of Pennsylvania have increased exceedingly within a few years, as well by master-workmen and journeymen from abroad, as by the increased skill and industry of our own citizens. Household or family manufactures have greatly advanced; and valuable acquisitions have been made of implements and machinery to save labour, either imported or invented in the United States. The hand-machines, for carding and spinning cotton, have been introduced by foreigners, and improved, but we have obtained the water mill for

spinning cotton, and a water mill for flax, which is applicable also to spinning hemp and wool. These machines promise us an early increase of the cotton, linen, and hempen branches, and must be of very great service in the woollen branch. Additional employment for weavers, dyers, bleachers, and other manufacturers must be the consequence. Paper-mills, gun-powder-mills, steel works, rolling and flitting mills, printing figured goods of paper, linen, and even of cotton, coach making, book printing, and several other branches, are wonderfully advanced: and every month seems to extend our old manufactures, or to introduce new ones.

The advancement of the agriculture of Pennsylvania is the best proof that can be given of the comfort and happiness it affords to its farming, manufacturing, and trading citizens. In the year 1786, our exports of flour were one hundred and fifty thousand barrels: in 1787, they were two hundred and two thousand barrels: in 1788, they were two hundred and twenty thousand barrels: and in 1789 they were three hundred and sixty-nine thousand barrels: which exceed any exports ever made in the times of the province, or in the times of the commonwealth*. The produce of flax is increased in a much greater degree: and that of wool is considerably more than it was before

* The exports of flour in the year 1792 from Philadelphia, amounted to above 420,000 barrels, and in the spring quarter of 1793 it exceeded 200,000 barrels.

the revolution. A new article is added to the list of our productions, which is a well-tasted and wholesome sugar, made of the maple tree. It has been proved, by many fair and careful experiments, that it is in the power of a substantial farmer who has a family about him, easily to make twelve hundred weight of this sugar every season, without hiring any additional hands, or utensils, but those that are necessary for his family and farm use. The time, in which it can be made, is from the middle of February to the end of March, when farmers in this country have very little to do, as it is too early to plough or dig. The price of sugar being lower here than in Europe, this article may be reckoned at one hundred and fifty dollars per annum, to every careful and skilful farmer, who owns land bearing the sugar maple. Of these there are some millions of acres in Pennsylvania and the adjacent states. It seems also highly probable, that this valuable tree may be transplanted, and thus be obtained by almost any farmer in the state; and that men of property, who will purchase kettles, and hire hands for the above short period, may make larger quantities.

The situation of religion and religious rights and liberty in Pennsylvania is a matter, that deserves the utmost attention of all sober and well-disposed people, who may have thoughts of this country. This state always afforded an asylum to the persecuted sects of Europe, and of the other states in former times. No church or society ever was esta-

blished here; no tythes or tenths can be demanded: and though some regulations of the crown of Britain excluded two churches* from a share in our government, in the times of the province, that is now done away with regard to every religious society whatever, except the Hebrew church. But at this time a convention of special representatives of the citizens of Pennsylvania have under consideration all the errors which have inadvertently crept into our constitution and frame of government; and in the act which they have published for the examination of the people, they have rejected the half-way doctrine of toleration, and have established upon firm and perfectly equal ground, all denominations of religious men. By the provisions of the new code, a Protestant, a Roman catholic, and a Hebrew, may elect or be elected to any office in the state, and pursue any lawful calling, occupation, or profession†. The constitution of general government of the United States also guarantees this inestimable and sacred right—and it is surely a sacred right; for it belongs to the Deity to be worshipped according to the free-will and consciences of his creatures.

We lay no difficulty in the way of any person, who desires to become a free and equal citizen. On the day of his landing, he may buy a farm, a house, merchandise, or raw materials; he may open a

* The Roman and Hebrew.

† This code has been confirmed in Pennsylvania.

work-shop, a counting-house, an office, or any other place of business, and pursue his calling, without any hindrance from corporation rules or monopolising companies, or the payment of any sum of money to the public. The right of electing and being elected (which does not affect his business or his safety) is not granted till the expiration of two years; which prudence requires.

A privilege, almost peculiar to this state, has been granted to foreigners by the legislature of Pennsylvania, that of buying and holding lands and houses within this commonwealth, without relinquishing their allegiance to the country in which they were born. They can lease, hire, sell or bequeath the lands, receive the rents, and, in short, have every territorial and pecuniary right, that a natural-born Pennsylvanian has; but no civil rights. As they profess to owe allegiance to a foreign prince or government, and reside in a foreign country, where they, of course, have civil rights, they cannot claim them, nor ought they to desire them here: for if they choose, at any time after the purchase to come out to this country, and make themselves citizens—or if they choose to give their estates to their children or other persons, who will do so, any of them may become citizens to all intents and purposes. This indulgence to purchase is granted for three years from January 1789: and all lands bought by foreigners before January 1792, may be held forever on those terms. Whether a right to make purchases upon those terms

will be allowed to foreigners, after that time, is uncertain, and will entirely depend upon the opinion of our then legislature, as to the safety or utility of it*.

Useful knowledge and science have been favourite objects of attention here. We have an university, three colleges, and four or five public academies, besides many private academies and free schools, in the city and several of the county-towns of this state. Considerable grants of monies, rent charges and particularly of new lands, have been made for this purpose by our legislature, and very liberal private subscriptions have been added at various times. Though our government and citizens have been always attentive to the important object of useful and liberal knowledge, yet an increased regard for learning has been manifested since the revolution. Rising from a provincial to an independent situation, appears, and very naturally, to have expanded our ideas, and to have given an enhanced value to improvements of the human mind†.

Among the natural advantages of Pennsylvania, her almost innumerable mill-seats ought not to be omitted. They are conveniently distributed by

* This law has been continued till the year 1795, when it may be renewed.

† Much has been done since 1790 in regard to schools. A. D. 1793.

Providence throughout the state, and afford the means of establishing every species of mill-work and labour-saving machines, to meet the produce and raw materials almost at the farmers' doors. In the present situation of this country, wanting hands for farming, and in the present state of manufactures, when ingenious mechanism is every day and every where invented, to lessen the necessity for manual labour, this natural advantage must appear of inestimable importance. Hemp and flax are among the most profitable productions of our rich midland and new counties, the cream of which is yet to be skimmed. It is therefore a most pleasing fact, that we have in the state the full-sized and complete movements or works of a water mill and machinery, to fliver, rove, and spin flax and hemp into threads or yarns, fit for linen of thirty cuts to the pound, or any other coarser kind, sheetings, towelling, sail-cloth, ozanbrigs, twine, and the strands or yarn for cordage. The same machinery is calculated for the roving or preparing, and spinning combed wool into worsted yarn. We have also the movements and complete machinery of Sir Richard Arkwright's water-mill for spinning yarns of cotton. And though the climate of this state is not fit for cultivating that raw material, yet cotton can be raised with profit in every state in our union southward of Pennsylvania, and imported from the East and West-Indies.

It is certain, that this extraordinary capacity of our country for mechanical works has either called

forth, in an unusual degree, the mechanical powers of the human mind, or that Providence has bestowed upon the people of this and our sister states an uncommon portion of that talent, which its nature and situation require. Our Rittenhouse and Franklin stand unrivalled in mechanical philosophy: and those, who know our country, are well informed, that to these two great names we could add a considerable list of philosophical and practical mechanicians, in a variety of branches.

So many of the necessary and convenient arts and trades depend upon the plenty and cheapness of fuel, that it appears proper to take notice of this article. Till the revolution, our dependence was almost entirely upon wood fuel, of which, in the most populous places, we have still a great abundance, and in all interior situations immense quantities: but the increase of manufactures has occasioned us to turn our attention to coal. Of this useful fossil, Providence has given us very great quantities, in our middle and western country. The vicinity of Wyoming, on the Susquehanna, is one bed of coal, of the open-burning kind, and of the most intense heat. On the head waters of Schuylkill and Lehi are some considerable bodies. At the head of the western branch of Susquehanna is a most extensive body, which stretches over the country south-west-erly, so as to be found in the greatest plenty at Pittsburgh, where the Allegeny and Youghiogeny unite, and form the head of the Ohio. It has been lately discovered on the waters of Nescopeck.

All our coal has hitherto been accidentally found on the surface of the earth, or discovered in the digging of common cellars or wells: so that when our wood-fuel shall become scarce, and the European methods of boring shall be skilfully pursued, there can be no doubt of our finding it in many other places. At present, the ballasting of ships from coal countries abroad, and the coal mines in Virginia, which lie convenient to ship-navigation, occasion a good deal of coal to be brought to the Philadelphia market. From this great abundance and variety of fuel, it results, that Pennsylvania, and the United States in general, are well suited to all manufactories which are effected by fire, such as furnaces, founderies, forges, glass-houses, breweries, distilleries, steelworks, smiths' shops, and all other manufactories in metal, soap-boiling, chandlers' shops, pot ash works, sugar and other refineries, &c. &c.

Ship-building is a business in which the port of Philadelphia exceeds most parts of the world. Masts, spars, timber, and plank, not only from our own state and the other states on the Delaware, are constantly for sale in our market: but the mulberry of the Chesapeake, and the evergreen or live oak, and red cedar of the Carolinas and Georgia, are so abundantly imported, that nine-tenths of our vessels are built of them. No vessels are better than these: and in proof of it, English writers of rank might be quoted, who have published for and against us. A live oak and ce-

dar ship of two hundred tons, carpenter's measure-
ment, can be fitted to take in a cargo for fourteen
pounds currency per ton*: and there is not a port
in Europe, in which an oak ship can be equally
well built and fitted for twenty pounds per ton in
our money, or twelve pounds sterling. This fact
may appear doubtful or extraordinary; but it is
certainly true; and it is greatly in favour of our
ship carpenters and other tradesmen employed in
fitting and building ships, as well as our merchants
and farmers, whose interests are so much connect-
ed with navigation.

The distance of Philadelphia from the sea, has
been made an objection by some, and the closing
of our river by the ice, which happens almost eve-
ry winter. Amsterdam, the greatest port in Eu-
rope, is inaccessible in the winter. But it is a fact,
that, notwithstanding these objections, our vessels
make as many West-India voyages as those of the
two other principal sea ports of the middle states:
and though the river is frozen from three to nine
weeks almost every winter, yet there are occasional
openings, which give opportunities for fleets of
merchantmen to go out and come in. The fine
corn and provision country, which lies near Phila-
delphia, enables the merchants to load their vessels
in the winter: and the market is regularly supplied
with flour, pork, beef, lumber, staves, iron and
many other of our principal articles of exportation.

* A. D. 1790.

Little time is therefore lost: and we find that our trade increaseth. The crop of 1789, and other exports from the harvest of that year to that of 1790, it is supposed, will load one hundred and twenty thousand tons of shipping. We have a very extensive back country; and many large bodies of new land, which must send their produce to the Philadelphia market, are settling fast. The population of Pennsylvania, by the last accounts taken, was three hundred and sixty thousand men, women and children: but, as some years have since elapsed, it is supposed it will not fall much short of four hundred thousand when the present enumeration shall be completed.*

No country in Europe has paid off so much of her public debt, since the late general war, as this state, notwithstanding the past disorders and difficulties of the United States, arising from the weakness of our late general government, and the shocks of an invasive war. She has paid off and sunk a sum equal to her full share of the interest and a considerable part of the principal of her state and federal debts. Yet she has laid no excise or internal duty, but eight pence currency upon spirituous liquors, which has since been repealed.

The inhabitants of Pennsylvania are principally descendants of English, Irish, and Germans, with

* It proved to be 434,000 by the census of 1791.

some Scotch, Welsh, Swedes, and a few Dutch. There are also many of the Irish and Germans, who emigrated when young or in the middle time of life: and there is a number of each of those two nations now in legislative, executive, and judicial stations among us. It has ever been the policy of our government, before and since the revolution, and the disposition of our people, to receive all sober emigrants with open arms, and to give them immediately the free exercise of their trades and occupations, and of their religion.*

Such is the present situation of things in Pennsylvania, which is more or less the same in several other of the American states, viz. New-York, Main, Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Vermont, and Kentucky: but though not so in the rest, the principal difference is, that they are so fully peopled, that there are no new lands of any value unfold; and farming lands, which are improved, are of course dearer than with us. In those states, however, agriculture, commerce, manufactures, the fisheries, and navigation, afford comfortable subsistence and ample rewards of profit to the industrious and well disposed, amidst the blessings of civil and religious liberty.

Before this paper shall be concluded, it may be useful to recapitulate the various productions and exports of the United States, which are the sure

* Latterly there are many French.

foundations of a grand scene of agriculture—the resources for an extensive trade—and the materials for a great variety of useful and elegant manufactures. From our new country we have ginseng, and several kinds of skins and furs; in the settled parts of the states, rice, indigo, cotton, silk, tobacco, flaxseed, wheat, rye, barley, oats, spelts, Indian corn, hemp, flax, wool, iron, lead, copper, coal, freestone, limestone, marble, sulphur, saltpetre, a great variety of ship timber, ship plank, masts, spars, tar, pitch and turpentine, pork, beef, cider, fish oil, spermaceti, whalebone, dried fish, pickled fish, hides, leather, black cattle, sheep, cheese, butter, tallow, hops, mustard seed, staves, heading, shingles, boards, plank, scantling, square timber, black walnut, wild cherry and curled maple for cabinet wares, potash, pearl ashes, potters clay, brick clay, &c. &c. with apples, and all the other principal fruits, and potatoes, and all the other principal vegetables. During the late war, considerable quantities of sea-salt were manufactured on our coast, as far north as New Jersey: and this article will no doubt one day become an object of attention. It may be safely affirmed, that no European nation whatsoever unites in its dominions, even including distant colonies, such a variety of important and capital productions; nor can there be any doubt, in the mind of a candid and serious observer, that such a country must rise with common prudence, in agriculture, manufactures and commerce, affording to every industrious and virtuous

citizen, and emigrant, the certain means of comfortable subsistence, and the fairest prospect of establishing a family in life.

T H E progress of the state of Pennsylvania in the great business of agriculture, since the return of peace, is strikingly evinced by the increased exportation of flour between 1786 and 1792, which being extracted from the public records may be relied on as accurately true. The extension of the grain distilleries and breweries, in the same term, has been at least equally great: the demand of bread for the increasing manufacturers has been enlarged in full proportion: ship-building has made a corresponding progress: and the opening of roads through the new country, the improvements of the old roads, the building of bridges, the clearing of rivers, and the cutting of canals in the three last years have exceeded the similar operations of any other equal term, either before, during, or since the revolution, beyond all comparison*.

* It has astonished those best acquainted with the affairs of Pennsylvania to find, that the exports from Philadelphia (the only port in that state) proved to be near seven millions of dollars during the year ending on the 30th September, 1793. For the particulars see the return of exports of the United States for that year, in this volume.

CHAPTER V.

CONTAINING SOME INFORMATION RELATIVE TO MAPLE SUGAR,
AND ITS POSSIBLE VALUE IN CERTAIN PARTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE disposition of the people of America to examine and discuss the topics of the day, the increased intercourse among the states since the late war, and the diffusion of knowledge thro' the channels of their numerous gazettes naturally occasion information, which used to be local, to be much more generally extended. The easy and profitable practice of making *sugar* from the sap or juice of the maple tree, had prevailed for many years in the nothern and eastern states. The facility and advantages of this pleasing branch of husbandry, had attracted little attention in Pennsylvania, tho a few of its inhabitants were in the habit of manufacturing small quantities of this kind of sugar. In the year 1790, it became more generally known to the Pennsylvanians, that their brethren in the eastern and nothern parts of the union, had long made considerable quantities, with their family utensils, and without the expense of hiring assistance, that the same tree might be carefully tapped without injury for many successive years, that the process was simple and very easy, and only required to be carried on between the middle of February and the end of March, when the farmer has little to

do, and that a very large proportion of the unfettled lands of the state abound with this valuable tree. The great and increasing dislike to negro slavery, and to the African trade among the people of that state, occasioned this new prospect of obtaining a sugar, not made by the unhappy blacks, to be particularly interesting to them. The following estimate, which was founded on the best materials attainable at that time, was published among other things to elucidate the subject.

An estimate of the capacity of sugar maple lands of Pennsylvania and New-York, to supply the demand of the United States for sugar and molasses.

THE DEMAND.

By authentic documents obtained from the custom-house of Philadelphia, it appears——

That the medium importation of brown sugar, for each year, from 1785 to 1789
was lbs. 5,692,848

Of loaf sugar, on a medium 4,480

And of molasses—543,900 gallons,
which at 10lb. per gallon, is 5,439,000
lbs. half of which weight in sugar may
be considered as equal to 543,900
gallons of molasses 2,719,500

Total quantity of sugar required—lbs. 8,416,828

The information of William Cooper, Esquire, of Coopers town,* is that there are usually made from a tree five pounds weight of sugar, and that there are fifty trees on an acre at a medium, but suppose only four pounds to be produced by a tree and forty trees on an acre, then 52,605 acres will yield 8,416,828 lbs. and supposing the whole demand of the union 42,084,140 lbs. or five times the importation into Philadelphia, then 263,000 acres will yield a supply for the United States. It need not be observed, that there are *very many* more than 263,000 acres of sugar maple lands in each of the eight following counties.

Albany,	}	in New-York.
Montgomery,		
Otsego,		
Tyoga,		
Ontario,		

Northampton,	}	in Pennsylvania.
Luzerne,		
Northumberland,		

Also that the sugar maple tree is found in many other parts of those two states, and of the United States.

It will be frankly admitted, that *the result* of the above estimate has a wild and visionary appearance; but as it is made upon facts, very carefully

* One of the judges of the court of common pleas in the county of Otsego, and state of New-York.

ascertained, and as the whole calculation is exposed to examination, it will not be unreasonable to give some faith to it, until exaggeration of fact or error shall be pointed out.

Philadelphia, 1790*.

* In the spring of the year 1793, the following letter was received from judge Cooper, and several other persons, who had emigrated from Pennsylvania, New-Jersey and France, into the present county of Otsego (at the heads of the rivers Delaware and Susquehanna) which is distant from Philadelphia about 137 miles, and from the city of New-York about 100 miles, in direct lines.

Coopers Town, April 9th, 1793.

GENTLEMEN,

Being convinced that you feel an interest in the manufactory of *maple* sugar, and that your wishes and exertions to prevent the destruction of the trees from whence it is produced, have been of public utility—We are encouraged to transmit to you the statement we have been able to make from actual observation of the quantity of sugar, which has been made this season, in the former township of Otsego, and which was an entire wilderness in 1786—We find upon a moderate calculation, that there has been made at least one hundred and sixty thousand pounds weight, which at nine pence per pound is equal in value to 15000 dollars. This plain demonstration of the importance of this article, will we hope, induce you to continue your endeavours to promote and encourage it, and we would submit to your consideration whether it is not an object of sufficient consequence to claim the encouragement of the legislature of your state.

WILLIAM COOPER,
RICH. R. SMITH,
RENSSEL. WILLIAMS, jun.
CHARLES FRANCIS,
LEWIS DE VILLERS,
EBBAL.

TO HENRY DRINKER,
BENJAMIN RUSH,
TENCH COXE, Philadelphia.

Since the publication of the foregoing calculation, it has been ascertained, that the balance of the medium imports and exports of foreign sugar, (that is the consumption of that article in the United States) is about 20,000,000 of pounds weight per annum. The quantity of molasses, used in substance (and exclusively of distillation) probably does not exceed 1,500,000 gallons, which may be deemed equal to about half their weight in sugar, or six millions of pounds. The total sum of these, being the whole consumption of sugar and molasses in substance, is 26,000,000 of pounds. It is certain that every farmer having one hundred acres of sugar maple land, in a state of ordinary American improvement, (that is, one third covered with judicious reserves of wood and timber, and two thirds cleared for the culture of grass and grain) can make one thousand pounds weight of sugar with only his necessary farming and kitchen utensils, if his family consists of a man, a woman and a child of ten years, including himself. It would therefore require the attention of 26,000 of such small families occupying (at one hundred acres each) 2,600,000 acres of those lands to make (at 1,000lbs. each) 26,000,000 of pounds, or a quantity of sugar equal to all the molasses and sugar, annually consumed in substance in the United States. The operation in a family is as easy, as to make household soap or cheese, or to brew ale or beer, and as there is in this country much more than twice the above quan-

tity of sugar maple lands, in situations not too southern, the only object that requires attention is *to give, as fast as possible, generality to this simple, profitable, and comfortable manufacture.*

CHAPTER VI.

A CONCISE GENERAL VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES, FOR THE
INFORMATION OF MIGRATORS FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

CIRCUMSTANCES of the same nature, as those, which led to the notes on the state of Pennsylvania, suggested the utility of a similar detail concerning the United States ; which will be found in this chapter. A disposition to promote general prosperity and the wisdom of a reliance upon collective national advantages, in preference to detached local interests gave additional force to these considerations. However true the account of Pennsylvania might be, it was well known that scenes, promising great comfort and a rapid prosperity, were to be found in other parts of this country. The district of Maine, parts of New Hampshire, Vermont, the Genesee country and other parts of the state of New-York, the westernmost parts of Maryland, of Virginia, of the two Carolinas and Georgia, with the state of Kentucky, containing large quantities of sparsely settled and, of course, cheap lands, it appeared really inequitable to pass them over in silence. The best information concerning them, which could be promptly collected, was therefore consolidated into the little publication, which forms the body of this chapter.

Notes concerning the United States of America, &c.

THE United States of America are situated in the northern division of that extensive portion of the globe, between the thirty-first and forty-sixth degrees of northern latitude. The extreme length of their territories is about 1250 miles, the breadth about 1040. Their superficies is computed to be 640,000,000 acres of land and water : and, after deducting the space occupied by the capacious lakes and mighty rivers, which fertilize and accommodate this country, and occupy above a seventh part of its surface, there remain about 590,000,000 of acres of fast land.

In so very extended a scene, it will be naturally expected, that the fruits of the earth are many and various : and accordingly we find, in the present half-tryed state of the capacities of our soil and climate, a list of invaluable productions present themselves, some found by the first discoverers of the country—others introduced by mere accident—and others transported from Europe, during the simple state of agriculture in the last century. In our southe n latitudes, including the states of Georgia, South Carolina and North Carolina, rice, much superior to that of Italy or the Levant, is raised in very great quantities. The comparative value of this grain was twenty five per cent. in the English markets, for the American more than the Italian or Levant rice, as long as the latter was sold there : but, from the ample quantity and goodness of our

rice, it seems probable, that no Mediterranean rice is now imported into England, as it has been omitted for some time in their general accounts of prices. The South Carolina crop alone, of 1789, appears to have been above 100,000 tierces,* weighing sixty millions of pounds. It is expected that Virginia will add this article to her list of exports; as it is supposed, a large body of rich swamp in her most eastern counties, is capable of producing it; and mountain rice has been raised by way of experiment, in her new country near the head of the Ohio.

Tobacco is a staple article of all the states, from Georgia as far north as Maryland, including both. Virginia, alone, generally exported before the revolution, 55,000 hogheads, weighing fifty-five millions of pounds—Maryland 30,000 hogheads. The Carolinas and Georgia, which raised but little of this article before the revolution, have, of late years, produced very large quantities: and as Virginia and Maryland are turning more of their attention to the cultivation of wheat, Indian corn, flax, and hemp, the Carolinas and Georgia will probably extend the cultivation of this plant, to which their soil and climate are well suited†.

* 141,762 Tierces were exported from the United States in the year ending on the 30th September 1792, though the consumption in the middle and northern states has increased considerably.

† 112,428 Hogheads were exported in the year ending on 30th September 1793, besides snuff and manufactured tobacco.

Indigo is produced by North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia : but this, and the other two articles before mentioned, are raised in much less proportions in North Carolina, than in South Carolina and Georgia. The uniform of our national troops has been heretofore of *blue* cloth, as also of the militia in general. Our clergy are also permitted by our customs to wear this colour : and it is generally liked among the most frugal and most expensive people. These circumstances will no doubt be duly attended to in our future laws and regulations, and will operate very favourably for the indigo planters, without any expense to the country.

Cotton has been lately adopted as an article of culture in the southern states : and if the prices of rice, tobacco, and indigo decline, it must be very beneficial to the owners and purchasers of lands in that part of our union. This article is raised with ease in Spain, every part of which kingdom lies further north than the Carolinas, and in the same latitudes as Virginia, Maryland and the Delaware state. It is also raised in all that part of Asiatic Turkey, which lies between Scanderoon and Smyrna, which are in the latitudes of the three last states. As our people will increase very rapidly by emigration, and the course of nature, it is certain we cannot procure wool from our own internal resources in sufficient quantities. The owners of cotton plantations may therefore expect a constant and great demand for this article, as a

substitute for wool, besides its ordinary uses for light goods.

Tar, pitch, and turpentine are produced in immense quantities in North Carolina, which state ships more of these articles, particularly the last, than all the rest of our union. Tar and pitch are also produced in the southern parts of Jersey, and more or less in all the states southward of that.

Besides these, myrtle wax, and those two invaluable timbers, the live oak and red cedar, are abundant in the Carolinas and Georgia: and they have Indian corn, hemp, flax, boards, staves, shingles, leather, beef, pork, butter, minerals, fossils, and many other articles in common with the middle, or eastern states; also skins, furs and ginseng from their Indian country.

The wheat country of the United States lies in Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New-Jersey and New-York, and the westernmost parts of Connecticut, as also the western parts of the two Carolinas, and probably of Georgia, for their own use. The character of the American flour is so well known, that it is unnecessary to say any thing in commendation of it here. Virginia exported before the war 800,000 bushels of wheat—Maryland above half that quantity. The export of flour from Pennsylvania (with the wheat) was equivalent to 1,200,000 bushels in 1788, and about

2,000,000 of bushels in 1789, which, however, was a very favourable year. New-York exports in flour and wheat equivalent to 1,000,000 of bushels. In the wheat states are also produced great quantities of Indian corn, or maize. Virginia formerly exported half a million of bushels*. Maryland ships a great deal of this article, and considerable quantities, raised in Virginia, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, New-York, and Connecticut, are exported—as are the wheat and flour of the last five states, from Philadelphia and New-York, there being little foreign trade from Delaware or Jersey—and the western parts of Connecticut shipping with less expense from the ports on Hudson's river than those of their own state.

Hemp and flax are raised in very large quantities throughout the United States: and though South Carolina and Georgia produce less than any other states, of these two articles, they are capable of raising immense quantities. From the advantage they have in the Savannah and other rivers, they could produce hemp with great profit. Large portions of the new lands of all the states are well suited to hemp and flax.

Though sheep are bred in all parts of America, yet the most populous scenes in the middle states, and the eastern states which have been long settled,

* Virginia exported in the above year 684,627 bushels of Indian corn, besides her increased shipments coastwise.

and particularly the latter, are the places where they thrive best. In the eastern or New-England states, they form one of the greatest objects of the farmer's attention, and one of his surest sources of profit. The demand for wool, which has of late increased exceedingly with the rapid growth of our manufactures, will add considerably to the former great profits of sheep: and the consumption of their meat by the manufacturers, will render them still more beneficial.

Horned or neat cattle are also bred in every part of the United States. In the western counties of Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and Kentucky, where they have extensive ranges, and mild winters, without snows of any duration, they run at large, and multiply very fast. In the middle states, cattle require more of the care and attention they usually receive in Europe, and they are generally good; often very large. But in the eastern states, whose principal objects on the land, have until lately been pasturage and grazing, cattle are very numerous indeed, and generally large. Cheese is, of course, most abundant in those states. No European country can exceed the United States in the valuable article of salt provisions. Our exports of this kind are every day increasing; as the raising of cattle is peculiarly profitable to farmers, the greater part of whom have no more land, than they can cultivate even with the plough. Barley and oats are the productions of every state, though least culti-

vated to the southward. Virginia however is turning her attention to barley, as also Maryland, and can raise great quantities.

Mafts, fpars, ftaves, heading, boards, plank, scantling, and fquare timber, are fhipped from almoft all the ftates : New-Hampfhire, and the adjoining province of Maine, which is connected with Maffachufetts, are among the moft plentiful fcenes. In New-York they abound : and in North Carolina and Georgia, the pitch-pine plank, and scantling, and white oak ftaves, are excellent, and abundant, efpecially in the former. The ftock of thefe articles on the Chefapeak and Delaware bays is more exhausted : but yet there is a great deal on the rivers of both for exportation, befides abundance for home confumption. Confiderable quantities are alfo brought to the Charlefton market, but a large part of them is from the adjacent ftates of Georgia and North Carolina. When their internal navigation fhall be improved, South-Carolina will open new fources of thefe articles.

Pot-afhes and pearl-afhes have become very valuable articles to both the land-holders and merchants of the United States : but their importance was comparatively unknown twenty years ago. A fingle faft will illuftrate the wealth that may be acquired by this manufacture. The ftate of Maffachufetts, which has been fettled twice as long the other ftates on a medium—which contains about a fiftieth part of the territory of the United States—which

is among the most populous of them—and consequently must have far less wood to spare than many other parts of the union—has nevertheless shipped two hundred thousand dollars worth of these two articles in a year. New-England and New-York have derived great advantage from their attention to pot and pearl-ashes : but it has hitherto been made in very inconsiderable quantities, in the states to the southward of them. In most of them it has been entirely overlooked. New-Jersey and Delaware have more forests than Massachusetts : and as there is no part of either of those states, that lies twenty-five miles from navigable water, they may venture to expend their wood, and to depend upon coal. In the other six states, which lie south of Hudson's river, the materials for pot-ash are immense—as also in the state of New-York.

A grand dependence of the eastern states is on their valuable fisheries. A detail of these is unnecessary. It is sufficient to say, that, with a small exception in favour of New-York, *the whole great sea fishery* of the United States, is carried on by New-England : and it is in a variety of ways highly beneficial to our landed and manufacturing interests. Massachusetts very far exceeds all the other states, in the fishing business.

Iron is abundant throughout the union, except in the Delaware state ; which can draw it as conveniently from the other states on the Delaware

river, as if it were in her own bowels. Virginia is supposed to be the state most pregnant with minerals and fossils of any in our union.

Deer-skins, and a variety of furs, are obtained by all the states from the Indian country; either directly, or through the medium of their neighbours. Hitherto they have been exported in large quantities: but from the rapid progress of our manufactures, that exportation must diminish.

The article of pork, so important in war, navigation and trade, merits particular notice. The plenty of mast or nuts of the oak and beech, in some places, and Indian corn every where, occasion ours to be very fine, and abundant. Two names among us are pre-eminent—Burlington and Connecticut: the first of which is generally given to the pork of Pennsylvania, and the middle and northern parts of Jersey: the second is the quality of all the pork north of Jersey. It may be safely affirmed, that they are fully equal to the pork of Ireland, and Britanny, and much cheaper.

Cider can be produced with ease in considerable quantities, from Virginia inclusive to the most northern states, as also in the western country of the Carolinas and Georgia: but New-Jersey and New-England have hitherto paid most attention to this drink. An exquisite brandy is distilled from the extensive peach-orchards, which grow upon the

the numerous rivers of the Chesapeake, in North Carolina, in Georgia, and in Pennsylvania, and may be made in the greater part of our country.

Silk has been attempted with success in the southernmost states, so far as due attention was paid to it: but is not well suited to the nature of their labourers, who, being blacks, are not sufficiently careful or skilful: and there are many other objects of more importance and profit in the agriculture of those fertile states. In Connecticut, where there is a sensible and careful white population, and where land is comparatively scarce and dear, it is found to be practicable and beneficial. A project to extend the white Italian mulberry-tree over all the states, has been formed by some persevering individuals, acquainted with the propagation of them. A great part of Connecticut is already supplied. An extensive nursery has been established near Philadelphia; another at Princeton, in New-Jersey; and two more are at this time commenced on New-York and Long Islands.

Rye is produced generally through all the states north of the Carolinas, and in the western parts of the three southern states. But the detail of American productions, and the parts in which they most abound, would be very lengthy. It will therefore be sufficient to say, that, in addition to the above capital articles, the United States produce or contain flaxseed, spelts, lime-stone, allum, saltpetre,

lead, copper, coal, free-stone, marble, stone for wares, potters' clay, brick clay, a variety of ship-timber, shingles, holly, beech, poplar, curled maple, black walnut, wild cherry, and other woods suitable for cabinet makers, shingles of cedar and cypresses, myrtle-wax, bees-wax, butter, tallow, hides, leather, tanners' bark, maple sugar, hops, mustard-seed, potatoes, and all the other principal vegetables; apples, and all the other principal fruits; clover, and all the other principal grasses. On the subject of our productions, it is only necessary to add, that they must be numerous, diversified, and extremely valuable, as the various parts of our country, lie in the same latitudes as Spain, Portugal, the middle and southern provinces of France, the fertile island of Sicily, and the greater part of Italy, European and Asiatic Turkey, and the kingdom of China, which maintains by its own agriculture more people than any country in the world.

The lands of the United States, though capable of producing so great a variety of necessary and useful articles, are much cheaper than in Europe. Farms which lie in such of our states as have been longest settled and improved, can be purchased for less money than the medium value of farming lands in any civilized part of the world: and our new lands, as well within the particular bounds of the several states, as those in the western territory of our confederated republic, are to be procured at

very low prices, either for cash at the time of purchase, a reasonable credit for a part, or a long credit on mortgage for the whole. This difference in the price of new or unsettled lands is occasioned by the difference of situation and quality, their nearness to good roads and water carriage, the quantity wanted by the purchaser, his capacity to pay cash, the length of the credit given, the wants or necessities of the sellers, and other circumstances, which reason will naturally suggest. The most advantageous mode is, for a number of persons to emigrate together, with a minister and schoolmaster. If such small bodies of people can only command money enough to erect their little buildings, where timber and stone cost nothing and are abundant, and to buy provisions to live on for a year, they may procure lands upon very convenient and easy terms for several years, with little advance, and in many instances without the least advance of purchase money.

Labouring people in the farming, manufacturing, and mechanical trades, can have constant employment, and better wages, than in the dearest countries of Europe; because we have so much land, so many new dwelling-houses, work-shops, barns, and other buildings to erect, and so many new trades and manufactories to establish. And though the wages of the industrious poor are very good, yet the necessities of life are cheaper than in Europe, and the articles used are more comfortable and pleasing. The medium price of meat and

fish in many parts of America, is lower than the price of flour in Europe, especially if bought by the carcase. The French fleet were supplied with their beef last year, at ten shillings sterling, for one hundred pounds weight, in the city of Boston.— Pickled beef was sold in the same year, in the city of New-York, for twenty to twenty-two shillings sterling per barrel, of two hundred pounds weight, including the cost of salt and cask. Beef was sold by the side and carcase at Trenton, in New-Jersey, at less than ten shillings sterling per hundred pounds; and in Philadelphia, at ten shillings sterling, in 1789. These parcels were of the inferior kind. The first cuts of the finest cattle are higher as must be supposed, especially in those three cities, which are the largest in the United States; but it may be safely affirmed that an American cent (being equal to the hundredth part of a Mexican dollar) will buy as good butchers' meat in the capitals of the several states, as a penny sterling will buy in Amsterdam, Paris, or London. Fish, in all our cities and towns near the sea, are excellent, abundant, and cheaper far than butchers' meat: and poultry is so low, that a turkey, of fourteen or fifteen pounds weight, may be bought for three shillings and ninepence to four shillings and six-pence sterling. Add to this, many principal necessaries and conveniences of life are entirely free from excise or duty, at this time; and will be lightly charged for a long while to come—such as home-made malt liquors and cider, coal and fire-wood, candles, oil, soap, tobacco, and leather, none of which pay excise, and

even foreign salt pays only about six-pence sterling duty on importation, and no excise whatever. Nor have we any window-tax or hearth-money, nor several other taxes, by which large sums are raised in Europe.

Many things are daily presenting themselves, by which the profits of land will be greatly enhanced in this country. We have hitherto imported a great part of our drink from abroad, viz. rum, brandy, gin, &c. but we find, if we extend our breweries so far as to render these spirituous liquors unnecessary, that we shall want above two millions of bushels of barley for the purpose, and large quantities of hops, besides having use for a further part of the immense quantities of fire-wood and coal with which our country abounds. We have also obtained the European cotton mill, by means of which, and a few of our innumerable mill seats, the owners of lands, in the six southern states, will be called upon to supply great quantities of cotton. The movements of a mill for spinning flax, hemp, and combed wool, have also been constructed here, by which our farmers, throughout the union, will be called upon to supply further quantities of flax and hemp, and to increase their sheep. The rolling mill for iron and other metals—and the tilt-hammer for all large iron work—have been brought into extensive use, and will no doubt be erected in all the states. But the detail of water-works, and mechanism which may be introduced into a country,

that has, moderately speaking, ten thousand (and probably nearer twenty thousand) mill-seats, would be endless.

There is a striking invaluable difference between the navigable waters of the United States and those of any country in the old world. The Elbe is the only river in Europe, which will permit a sea vessel to sail up it for so great a length as seventy miles. The Hudson's, or North-River, between the states of New-York and New-Jersey, is navigated by sea vessels one hundred and eighty miles from the ocean; the Delaware, between Pennsylvania, New-Jersey and the Delaware state, one hundred and sixty miles; the Patowmac, between Virginia and Maryland, three hundred miles: and there are several other rivers, bays, and sounds, of extensive navigation, far exceeding the great river Elbe. The inland boatable waters and lakes are equally numerous and great.

In a country thus circumstanced, producing the great raw materials for manufactures, and possessing unlimited powers by water and resources of fuel, subject also to considerable charges upon the importation of foreign fabrics, *to neglect manufactures would have been highly criminal.* These important ideas have taken full possession of the American mind. The theory is now every where approved: and in New England, Pennsylvania, and several other states, the practice has been taken up with considerable spirit and very extensively. Master

workmen in every manufacturing and mechanical art (except those of superfluous or luxurious kinds) with their journeymen and labourers, must succeed here. The freight, insurance, and other charges of a long voyage, of more than three thousand miles and the duties laid here, operate greatly in favour of American fabrics. Manufactures by fire, water, and emigrating workmen, must succeed even in the most agricultural of our states, and will meet every encouragement in the New England states, and others whose lands are nearly full. A regard for the republican manners of our country, renders it a duty to warn the manufacturers of very fine, superfluous, and luxurious articles, not to emigrate to these states. Gold and silver and other laces, embroidery, jewellery, rich silks and silk velvets, fine cambrics, fine lawns, fine muslins, and articles of that expensive nature, have yet few wearers here,

Ship-building is an art for which the United States are peculiarly qualified by their skill in the construction, and by the materials, with which this country abounds: and they are strongly tempted to pursue it by their commercial spirit, by the capital fisheries in their bays and on their coasts, and by the productions of a great and rapidly increasing agriculture. They build their oak vessels on lower terms than the cheapest European vessels of fir, pine, and larch. The cost of an oak ship in New England, is about twenty-four Mexican dollars per ton fitted for sea: a fir vessel costs in the

ports of the Baltic, thirty-five Mexican dollars : and the American ship will be much the most durable. The cost of a vessel of the American live-oak and cedar, which will last (if salted in her timbers) thirty years, is only thirty-six to thirty-eight dollars in our different ports ; and an oak ship, in the cheapest part of England, Holland, or France, fitted in the same manner, will cost fifty-five to sixty dollars. In such a country, the fisheries and commerce, with due care and attention on the part of government, must be profitable.

The public debt of the United States, occasioned by the revolution war, is estimated at about eighteen millions of pounds sterling ;* but as they have an extensive settled territory—above two hundred and forty millions of acres of vacant land—as their duties upon foreign articles are not more than one fourth of those of Great Britain—as they have no excises or duties upon articles of their own growth or manufacture—and lastly, as they are every year saving large sums by the introduction of new manufactures and the extension of old ones, this debt cannot be considered as heavy. The interest of the public debts of France and Great Britain (which are nearly equal to each other) is, in each instance, above nine millions sterling : And as our debt, like the debt of all nations, is sold below its nominal value, less than two years interest of the debts of either of those two nations would entirely sink it.

* It proves to be less.

The capital of the British debt is above fourteen times as great as ours—and the annual expenses of their government exceed ours beyond all comparison. The annual expenses of France are still greater, being about one hundred and five millions of dollars. If nations thus circumstanced can have comfort and ease, under such debts and expenses, America can have no hardships or difficulty to apprehend.

The people of the principal European nations will find themselves more *at home* in America than in any foreign country, to which they can emigrate. The English, German, and Dutch languages are fluently spoken by large bodies of our citizens, who have emigrated from those countries, or who are the descendants of emigrants. The French language is also spoken by many in our towns. There are many emigrants from other nations, and the descendants of such emigrants. Our population has been derived from England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Germany, the United Netherlands, Sweden, and France, and a few from several other countries. It is computed to be above three millions at this time:† and the population of no country can increase so rapidly: because living is no where so cheap, and we are constantly gaining people from the nations of the old world.

The state of literature in the United States is

† It was a matter of agreeable surprise, that our population in 1791, proved to be about 4,000,000.

respectable, and is rapidly advancing and extending. Seminaries of learning are spread from north to south. There are five universities, no one of which, however is on a very extensive scale—fourteen colleges, and forty eight public academies, besides very many establishments of schools, in the townships or hundreds, and under the care of religious corporations and societies. There is scarcely an instance of a state constitution, which does not recognize the utility of public schools, and the necessity of supporting and increasing them. Liberal grants of land and other real estates, and of monies, for these salutary purposes, have been and are continually made.

The situation of civil liberty in America is so universally known that it is scarcely necessary to add any thing upon that head. Yet it may not be amiss briefly to mention, that no man can be convicted of any crime in the United States, without the unanimous verdict of twelve jurymen—that he cannot be deprived of any money, lands, or other property, nor punished in his person, but by some known law, made and published before the circumstance or act in question took place—that all foreigners may freely exercise their trades and employments, on landing in our country, upon equal terms with our own natural born citizens—that they may return at any time, to their native country, without hindrance or molestation, and may take with them the property they brought hither, or what they may have afterwards acquired here—that if they choose

to remain among us, they will become completely naturalized free citizens by only two years residence; but may purchase and hold lands on the day of their arrival, and that a free citizen of the United States has a right, directly or indirectly, to elect every officer of the state in which he lives, and every officer of the United States.

The situation of religious rights in the American states, though also well known, is too important, too precious a circumstance, to be omitted. Almost every sect and form of christianity is known here—as also the Hebrew church. None are merely tolerated. All are admitted, aided by mutual charity and concord, and equally supported and cherished by the laws. In this land of promise for the good men of all denominations, are actually to be found, the independent or congregational church from England, the Protestant Episcopal church (separated by our revolution from the church of England) the Quaker church, the English, Scotch, Irish and Dutch Presbyterian or Calvinist churches, the Roman Catholic church, the German Lutheran church, the German reformed church, the Baptist and Anabaptist churches, the Hugonot or French Protestant church, the Moravian church, the Swedish Episcopal church, the Seceders from the Scotch church, the Menonist church, with other Christian sects, and the Hebrew church. Mere toleration is a doctrine exploded by our general constitution; instead of which have been substituted an unqualified admission, and assertion, that their

own modes of worship and of faith equally belong to all the worshippers of God, of what ever church, sect, or denomination*.

AT the time of the foregoing publication, the the exports of the United States amounted to above 18,000,000 of dollars. The progress of industry had advanced them in 1792, to the sum of 21,000,000 of dollars†. A very large proportion of this increase, consists in articles for the sustenance of man—the food of our increasing manufacturers, or the prime necessities of other countries. The useful art of ship-building has kept more than equal pace with our agriculture, because it has felt the impulse of the revival of the fisheries, and of foreign demand. The price of iron, which is a good general index of industry and

* The writer of the foregoing publication has found himself restrained in the statement of facts concerning the United States, by the want of that accurate and various information, which a full account of so extensive and grand a scene necessarily requires: and his narrow limits obliged him to omit several important facts, very interesting to emigrants of every description. He hopes that some of the excellent pens, which abound in every part of our union, will be employed in shewing the true situation of things in each state, that, from the several details, *the extraordinary capacity of the United States of America, to promote the comfort and happiness of the human race, may be duly manifested.*

† In the year ending on the 30th September 1793, the exports of the United States were 26,000,000 of dollars.

arts, has been greatly advanced by the progress of public and private improvements, and useful manufactures: and eleven great and important canals have been actually commenced in a country, which before the late revolution did not exhibit a single instance of those invaluable improvements.

CHAPTER VII.

CONCERNING THE DISTILLERIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE importance of molasses to the United States has been so frequently a topic of observation, that it is presumed to be generally understood. No less than 7,194,606 gallons were regularly entered in the custom-houses, from various places, during the year ending in September 1791. When the disorders in the French part of the island of St. Domingo commenced in the autumn of that year, apprehensions arose, that those citizens of the United States, who were interested in the distilleries from foreign materials, might sustain a grievous shock, unless they would adopt the substitutes, which our own agriculture afforded. It was manifest, that these individual inconveniencies, by due anticipation, might be considerably diminished; and it was no less evident, that the agriculture of the United States might be exceedingly benefited by the distillation of fruit and grain, instead of molasses. From a desire to bring these circumstances into that notice, which their importance required, the following paper was introduced into public view in the state of Massachusetts, in which the molasses distillery greatly exceeds those of all the other states together.

Reflections on the present situation of the distilleries of the United States heretofore employed on foreign materials.

IT has been a subject of frequent apprehension, to attentive observers on the internal industry of our country, that the distilleries in the sea-port towns would one day be deprived of their necessary supply of foreign materials: the obvious possibility of various events suggested these fears. A contingency as deplorable as it was unexpected, has at length happened, which menaces a long interruption, perhaps a total privation, of that large part of those supplies, which has been drawn from Hispaniola; and the late disorders in Martinico, have conspired to heighten the evil.

In consequence of these events, the ordinary operations of above one hundred distilleries will be affected, and the subsistence of those numerous families, that are dependant on them, will be for a time or in a degree cut off. The ravages already committed in the West Indies, must occasion a defalcation of produce, which it will require several years of industry to restore, after tranquility shall be established. To supply our demand for the raw materials from any other source, is impracticable; and if it were possible to procure from the islands of other nations, distilled spirits, equal to our consumption, yet the importation would be excessively expensive, as well as impolitic. Little more than

eight millions of gallons are annually made in those islands; and the demand for the expected Spanish war advanced the price of rum in Jamaica, fifty per cent.—What then would be the effect of a new and constant demand for several millions of gallons?

But were it practicable to procure the distilled spirits from abroad, upon moderate terms, what would be the fate of the American distillers, their workmen and assistants? Would not their capitals become unproductive, and their distilleries, sink into ruin? It is to be feared, too, that the shipping connected with this branch of industry, will feel a share of these unfortunate events.

To avoid evils so great and extensive, must be the wish and should be the endeavour of every good citizen. If, however, they cannot be altogether prevented, prudence may perhaps mitigate them. It is thought that a diminution of them may be found in the application of our distilleries to the manufacture of grain and fruit spirits.

The harvests of Europe are said to have been abundant; those of the United States are known to be so; and a reduction of the prices of grain seems to be a probable consequence: the present time, therefore, is the proper one to commence this business. The transportation of grain and cider coastwise, to the distilleries; and of the distil-

led spirits to the consumers, on all the navigable waters of the United States, will give employment to those vessels which may necessarily relinquish the French West-India trade.

It will not escape the observation of those who meditate the establishment or extension of breweries, that the present is a favourable moment for proceeding in that most beneficial branch. It is well known that brewing, and the distillation of spirits from grain, are two very profitable manufactures in Great-Britain; although the brewer and distiller there pay fifty per cent. higher for grain than the ordinary price of the same article in this country. Holland also brews extensively, and in distillation from grain exceeds Great-Britain; yet she imports more grain than she manufactures, and more fuel than her breweries and distilleries consume,

The difference of eleven cents per gallon (about forty per cent. on the value of the article) in favour of spirits distilled from native materials, when compared with imported spirits, gives an advantage to the home manufacture, which will be duly estimated by every judicious calculator: there can be no doubt, that this advantage will be always preserved, and probably increased by the laws of the United States*.

* Among the inducements which the national government have to adhere to this policy, is this *very important one*, that the encouragement to the culture of grain, which would be derived from the use of it in brewing and distillation, would prove the most effectual security against a scarcity of bread.

The strongest inducement to reasonable men, for the employment of their capital and industry in any undertaking, is the hope of permanent profit, founded on fair calculation: this calculation the distillers are best able to make: to them, therefore, the ideas herein suggested are all submitted.

THE great stock of molasses, which was left on hand from the unusual importation of 1791, and the exertions of the merchants and distillers to procure supplies of that article from new sources, have occasioned the mutation of the molasses distilleries into fruit and grain distilleries, to be yet inconsiderable. It is certain however, that the new distilleries have been principally confined to fruit and grain, and that the manufacture of spirits, from domestic materials, has greatly increased. The high price of grain, arising from the European demand, has occasioned the gradual manner, in which the change of our distilleries is taking place, to be perfectly convenient. The inhabitants of the United States are thoroughly prepared, by their own reflections on this branch of their business, to make such further alterations, as circumstances may require, whenever they shall become necessary*

* Breweries, which are more estimable kind of liquor manufactory, have greatly increased. 1793.

C H A P T E R VIII.

STATEMENTS, RELATIVE TO THE AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES, COMMERCE, POPULATION, RESOURCES AND PUBLIC HAPPINESS OF THE UNITED STATES, IN REPLY TO THE ASSERTIONS AND PREDICTIONS OF LORD SHEFFIELD.

THE misconceptions in regard to American affairs which prevailed in many parts of Europe in the year 1791, and particularly in the British dominions, were deemed to be very great. They appeared to be founded, in no small degree, on the disquisitions of an English writer* whose errors, it was therefore, necessary to demonstrate.

An examination of his work was commenced in the American Museum and continued monthly, as circumstances permitted. Further reflection and opportunity produced additional facts and some relative considerations, which, on a re-publication, were intermixed with the original materials, or were comprised in a seventh number, and in two additional notes on American manufactures.

It is possible, that a question may have arisen, why an examination of a work, first published in 1783, should have been instituted in 1791? The observations of lord Sheffield had gone through six

* Lord Sheffield.

enlarged editions, and the same writer having diffused ideas, very unfavourable to the United States, in his book upon the commerce of Ireland, it was conceived that a developement of his errors was due no less to those who are misinformed in Europe, than to those interests, which are not understood in this country. It had been frequently observed, that when American affairs were discussed in Britain, Lord Sheffield's work was quoted with symptoms of conviction and belief. Under circumstances like these, an examination of his allegations, predictions and remarks, even at that day, would not, it was hoped, appear unseasonable.

A Brief examination of Lord Sheffield's Observations on the Commerce of the United States, with two supplementary notes on American manufactures.

SECTION I.

THE facts and observations of this writer have, in the opinion of many of his countrymen, so firmly endured the touchstone of experience, that an attempt to demonstrate errors in both, may appear to deserve little attention. The brevity, however, which is intended to be observed; may induce the parties concerned, to give these papers an attentive perusal.

It is remarked, in the last edition of the publication referred to, "that a knowledge and con-

sideration of the American trade should dictate to Great-Britain the measures she ought to pursue." The good sense of that observation, in relation to the time when it was written, is admitted, without hesitation, and it is considered as equally proper, in regard to the present. It is believed, indeed, to comport most perfectly with the dignity and true interests of nations, not to induce into injurious grants those foreign powers, with whom they may find occasion to treat. No observations need be offered, to show the respectability, which is acquired by negotiations conducted with a liberal and magnanimous policy. It will be sufficient to remark, that arrangements, solidly founded in the mutual interests of the contracting parties, will always be satisfactory to the intelligent part of their respective citizens, and consequently most permanent; but that injudicious grants of unreasonable advantages, especially if obtained by deceptive means, dishonour the character of the over-reaching party—lead to murmurs among the people of the mistaken nation, often to expensive and bloody wars—and give immense hazard to the commercial enterprizes, which are usually instituted in consequence of new treaties. It may be considered, therefore, as wisdom in negotiating nations, diligently to search for their *common interests*, as the fitted ground of treaty. In order to discover *these* with ease, and to view them with just impressions, it is a measure not only of primary importance, but of indispensable necessity, to remove established errors in the public

creed of either country. It is not by way of apology, that these prefatory remarks are offered to all concerned, but to show, that a rational pursuit of the interests of their respective countries, should lead both Americans and Englishmen, to develop the errors, in regard to facts and opinions, discoverable in a publication,* which appears to have been the cause of a change of measures in the British nation, or to have been intended to vindicate one, which it was pre-determined to make.

It is not proposed to go into a full and regular reply to the writer of the observations, but rather to point out so many real and important errors in his facts and predictions, as may shake the unlimited confidence, which has been reposed in him by his countrymen, in order to lead to a different legislative deportment towards us. Little regard will be paid to order, in this cursory examination; but any important object, which presents itself, will be concisely noticed.

THE CARRYING TRADE,

in the opinion of lord Sheffield, is lost to the people, inhabiting these states, by their choice of independence. Let us examine the proofs. His seventh table states the inward tonnage of all the British provinces in North-America, in 1770, to have been 365,100 tons. From this amount are

* Lord Sheffield's Observations, &c.

to be deducted the entries in Newfoundland, Canada, Nova-Scotia, the two Floridas, the Bahamas, and Bermuda, being 33,458 tons, which leaves the entries in those provinces, which are now the United States, at 331,642 tons. We are also to deduct the ships owned by British subjects, not resident in those thirteen provinces. *Champion* considers these to have been nearly the whole in the European trade, it is believed erroneously; but they must have been very considerable: yet the return of entries of American vessels for the last year, rendered by our treasury to the House of Representatives, though known to have been incomplete from inevitable causes, amounts to above 363,000 tons, exclusive of fishing vessels*.

It is manifest, then, that the carrying trade, which results almost unaided from an agriculture, that fully lades 650,000 tons of vessels to foreign ports, is considerably greater than what we enjoyed as British provinces. A very beneficial coasting trade (employing above 100,000 tons*) has moreover grown up, partly from the variety of our productions and mutual wants, and partly from the introduction of manufactures, which it was believed we could never attain, and with which Great Britain alone used to supply us. The building of ships has also increased, as we undertake hereafter to show, and

* Our *numerous* coasters also not being entered, but only renewing their licences in that trade, once a year, form no part of the 363,000 tons.

the tonnage owned by the merchants of the United States or late American provinces, was never so great as at the present moment. It is believed, moreover, that the American carriers derive greater profit from the business, than the British nation, who builds ships two-thirds dearer, and who maintain themselves in what they possess of the carrying trade, at the expense of great bounties out of their public treasury, by burdensome restrictions on all their dominions, but the island of Great-Britain, and by regulations to favour their shipping, which increase *the price of raw materials* for their manufactures, and of bread and other *food* for their workmen and for their poor.

BEEF AND PORK,

in the opinion of our author, are not likely to become considerable articles of export, so as to interfere with Ireland for some time. The medium annual quantity exported from the United States, before the revolution, he states at 23,635 barrels. Our treasury return, for the last year, exhibits 66,000 barrels, besides 2,500 barrels of bacon, 5,200 head of horned cattle, and an equal number of hogs. The medium price of the pork was thirty-seven shillings sterling, or about $8\frac{1}{4}$ dollars per barrel, and that of beef twenty-eight shillings sterling, or about $6\frac{1}{4}$ dollars per barrel. Besides this exportation, 263,000 tons of foreign vessels, in a great degree, and all our own, were victualled from our markets.

But a moments reflection will convince any man, who knows this country, that it will, in the course of a few years, offer to all foreign nations such quantities of salt provisions, especially of beef, as must seriously affect Ireland, where that article is sold at eight dollars per barrel. It is a fact no less curious, than important to our provision trade, that the French fleet has been supplied with beef in the port of Boston, at prices lower than the then current value of wheat-flour in any of our seaports, although our exports of the latter article are fourteen times as great as those of Ireland. The owners of the interior lands of the United States, on which settlements have but lately become considerable, find a particular advantage in raising cattle, because those animals transport themselves to the seaports at a very small expense.*

TEAS.

It is known to persons acquainted with American commerce, that teas of various kinds form a very considerable proportion of our importations. The rich and the poor consume them freely. Their value, as they were entered in our custom-houses, for the year preceding the first of October, 1790, was 2,784,000 dollars, which was about a seventh of our imports. On this very capital article of commerce and consumption, lord Sheffield hazards the following opinions—

* The exportation of beef and pork, in the year ending on the 30th September, 1792, was 112,456 barrels.

“ That as the English East-India company can afford to sell this tea, on full as good, if not better, terms, than the Dutch, or any other nation in Europe, *there is no danger of losing the American market.*” And

“ That the allowing the drawback upon teas exported from Great-Britain, will generally enable the English *to command the tea trade to America.*”

His lordship had forgotten that Canton is an open market, *equally accessible* to all nations. The American ships have accordingly gone thither, not only in the ordinary seasons, but in those, *which usually restrain European expeditions.* The United States produce the great article of *ginseng* in large quantities, which renders this trade convenient to them. The teas, imported by our merchants directly from China, in the last year, were *two millions six hundred and one thousand eight hundred and fifty two pounds*, which is fully equal to our consumption, could we obtain coffee, and the requisite quantity of Muscovado sugars, of which our people are universally and passionately fond. There were imported also from Europe, 416,652 pounds of teas, shipped from foreign ports, *other than British*, to the extreme disadvantage of the shippers, and to the great injury of our merchants. But the values of commodities in any two markets are the best illustration of the relation of those markets to each other. The article of tea will therefore be

passed over, after the following statement of the current prices on a given day in America and Great-Britain.

In Philadelphia, on the 5th day
of November, 1790, after
paying the duty inward.

Sterling.

Bohea, $1/3\frac{1}{2}$ or 30 cents,
Souchong, $3/4\frac{1}{2}$ or 75 cents,
*Hyson, $4/6$ or 100 cents.

In London, on the 5th day of
November, 1790, after de-
ducting the drawback of 12l.
10s. per cent.

Sterling.

Bohea, $1/5\frac{1}{2}$ or 32 cents,
Souchong, $4/6$ or 100 cents,
Hyson, $6/$ or $133\frac{1}{4}$ cents.

The same circumstances, which facilitate and insure the attainment of the requisite quantity of teas, not only by means other than British, but indeed by *American* means, certify to us the acquisition of the necessary supplies of porcelain, nankeens, silks, and all other China commodities: and upon the whole, ' we dare venture to appeal to the books of the inspector general of the British commerce, when we affirm that Great Britain does not supply us with with a fortieth shilling of the various kinds of China merchandize, consumed in America, though they probably fall little short of a sixth of our importations.

SALT FROM EUROPE.

This article, the writer of the observations says, will be taken indiscriminately from Europe: thereby misleading the government and people of En-

* No teas have been imported from Britain into the United States since the first publication of this work. A. D. 1793.

gland into a belief, that they will have a chance of supplying a considerable proportion. The quantity imported into the United States, from various countries, in the last year, was 2,337,920 bushels; besides which it was manufactured in interior situations. The price of salt in Kentucky, where it is home made, is about one third of the market rate at Pittsburgh, where foreign salt is used.

The British salt is what is called *fine* in America, from the small size of the crystals. Of this kind the price is greater than that of the coarse, and not a twentieth bushel was imported before the present year, it being little used but at the table, and inconvenient to transport to the interior country; but the new duty, near the eighth of a Mexican dollar, will render its importation very unprofitable in future. A bushel of rock or allum salt, as it is termed, from the size of the crystals, will go as far in use, as a bushel and an half or two bushels of the finer kind; and the duty is equal. The price, as before observed, is less. Besides, our grain and lumber ships to Portugal, our tobacco ships to France, our corn, flour and lumber ships to Spain, our vessels to the Cape-de-Verd and West-India islands, are accommodated by ballasts of salt, which is cheap and abundant in those places. It never fails to yield some profit to the owner of the ship, (though it will very seldom pay a freight) and it is exceedingly beneficial to the timbers of a vessel. The liberation of this article in France will

occasion it to be better made there in future, and the French will consequently supply us with larger parcels than heretofore. The approximation of our settlements to the salt springs, and the increase of white population on the southern sea coasts, will occasion additions to the quantity made at home. Should any impediment be thrown in the way of the reception of our lumber and other bulky articles, and of our vessels in Great Britain, the importation of salt, and indeed of most other coarse British articles, will be exceedingly diminished, as they are brought now to ballast our return vessels. It appears, however on examining better documents than were procurable at the first publication of this paper, that our British lumber trade had induced a greater return in salt, than was at that time supposed; and as truth is the sole object of this examination, the error is made known without hesitation.

SHOES,

Our writer says, were, and must continue to be imported in considerable quantities, and principally from Britain! 'Tis probable that not less than eight millions of pair of shoes, boots, half boots, guetres, slippers, clogs, and goloshoes, are annually consumed in or exported from the United States. Our population proves to be about 4,000,000; and if each person wears a quantity of the above shoemakers' wares, *equivalent* to two pair of shoes per annum, the number will be made up. If the medium value be taken at 75 cents or $3/4\frac{1}{2}$ sterling per-

pair, this valuable article will amount to six millions of dollars. Of this prodigious quantity, only 70,450 pair of shoes, boots, &c. were imported into the United States in the last year.† Tanned leather, weighing 22,698 pounds, was exported within the same time, and 5,700 pairs of boots and shoes. Of *unmanufactured* hides, only 230 were shipped abroad. Leather and shoes were sent in some degree from the western country. The leather branch is the *second* in England, and it is equal to one-fifth of their staple manufactures. Our shoemakers' wares alone appear to be more in value than one fourth of our exports: and as New England is our greatest cattle country, and the most advanced in handicraft-manufactures, it is plain that its inhabitants must be in a considerable degree indemnified for the effects of those regulations which injured their fisheries. The coarser oils, it may be also observed, are demanded in large quantities by the leather dressers, whose requisitions of them will increase with our population, and exports of leathern manufactures.

PAPER.

This article, it is alledged by our author, will continue to be sent in considerable quantities from

† It must be highly satisfactory to the people of the United States, that they actually make of *one* necessary article *by hand* so very great an aggregate value, as six millions of dollars. All argument against the possibility of manufacturing *by hand* with profit is ended by this fact.

England; and that "although some coarse paper for newspapers is made in America, it is not equal to the demand." From a return made to the manufacturing society of Philadelphia, it appears, that there are forty-eight paper mills in Pennsylvania alone. Five more are building in one county of that state. Others are known to exist in North Carolina, Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, New York and New England. The United States, till very lately, were insensible of the facility with which this branch can be carried on, of the profit which results from it, and of the great degree in which it is established. The treasury of the United States, and the several banks, have paper of the most perfect kind, specially made for them; the printing of books has increased in an astonishing degree; and factories of paper hangings are carried on with great spirit in Boston, New-Jersey, and Philadelphia. In short, there are abundant proofs of establishment and progress towards perfection, in this valuable branch, in which every thing is made, as it were, *out of nothing*.

RUM.

It is the opinion of lord Sheffield, that the whole of *the West-India rum* used in America, except a small quantity from Demarara, and some from St. Croix, may be supplied by the British islands*. The following scale may be relied on, as the pre-

* The British West-India islands do not make as much distilled spirits, as are consumed in the United States.

sent state of this business in the United States. If the whole quantity of molasses, of distilled spirits imported, and of distilled spirits made at home of fruit and grain, should be divided into 132 parts, it would stand thus.

	parts.
Molasses imported would be - -	60
British, Danish, and other rum, taffia, brandy, geneva, arrack, cordials, and other distilled spirits imported, would be*.	37
Spirits distilled from the native fruits and grain of the United States would be at least	35
	<hr/>
Total	132
	<hr/>

It is ascertained, that the British spirits are not more than twenty-one parts of the second item of thirty-seven; and it appears that *the West-India rum*, supplied by all nations, is reduced to about one fourth of our consumption and sale to foreign nations of distilled spirits. How long we shall continue to take even that proportion is very uncertain. Breweries are multiplying: as their value is becoming manifest. Grain and fruit distilleries are rising up every where. From interior situations two gallons of spirit, extracted from a bushel of rye,

* There is reason to affirm, that the two first articles have decreased, and that an increase in the quantity of the article which follows them, has taken place. A. D. 1793.

can be brought to markets where it will realize to the farmer two thirds of a dollar for his grain, at less expence than if made into flour, and carted to the same spot. The country is abundantly supplied with stills; and were the British islands to be refused our flour and grain by their own government, as lord Sheffield advises, this country would be compelled to indemnify itself by making grain spirits and malt liquors in lieu of their rum, which it is reasonable to suppose we should no longer import. Indeed the exportation of liquors of all kinds, made from grain, will probably become very considerable. Some countries refuse our flour: and the freight to Europe is a heavy charge upon grain. This will induce brewing and distillation, even when markets abroad are not bad; but when prices in Europe are very low, we shall be more strongly impelled to them. Fruit spirits must be made continually, and will add much to the aggregate of distilled liquors. The grain consumed in Great-Britain, in their breweries and distilleries, is computed to be twenty-four millions of bushels, though they are obliged to import considerable quantities of flour, meal and grain and though they have rum colonies to support, and to supply with spirits. Holland also carries on the liquor manufactories to a great extent, though far from able to feed itself. The ability in the United States to do the same, cannot be doubted, and will certainly increase. The facilities, which are or may be granted to our ships and trade by foreign nations, who make spirits from the vine, the cane, or

the several kinds of grain, will induce returns in brandy, rum, or gin, which will diminish the American demand for British rum.

The idea that the United States are a country, sui generis.

This position the writer of the observations treats "as perfectly whimsical—" As a figure of rhetoric "conveying no distinct idea, or an effort of cunning "to unite, at the same time, two inconsistent characters." Yet it will not be difficult to demonstrate to an unprejudiced mind, that the circumstances, in which the people of these states were placed at the peace of 1783, were different from those of any other nation; and that there were some peculiarities in them, considered with respect to British affairs, which rendered it a serious question, whether they did not require a particular arrangement. It is true, that the citizens of the United States had "renounced the duties of British subjects," or, in other words, that they had assumed an independent station: but this measure was fully justified, if we may so speak, by Britain's abandoning the ground, which produced the war--*the assertion of the right to bind the people of America in all cases whatsoever.* It will be acknowledged, too, that we manufactured less at that time than any other nation in the world; consequently we were a more profitable commercial connexion. We shipped, in proportion to our population, more raw materials, and provisions, which they want, than any other nation; for it appears we load 650,000 tons of ship-

ping, and our cargoes were then almost entirely unmanufactured. We were, by much, the first customer for British manufactures; for it appears by their exports for 1784, that the greatest value was shipped to the United States, being £. 3,648,0007, sterling, including no raw articles; and that the next greatest foreign shipment was to Holland, being only £. 1,277,480, part of which was for German consumption, and some part probably was in raw articles—and that in the year 1785, also, the greatest value was shipped to the United States, being £. 2,308,023, sterling, and that the next greatest foreign shipment was likewise to Holland, amounting to £. 1,605,303, part of which was not manufactures. The exports to Russia in each of those two years were less than half the exports to New-York or Pennsylvania. It is to be remembered, too, how very great a proportion of the British export trade these shipments to America constituted. In 1784, their whole exportations were £. 15,733,847 and in 1785, £. 16,770,228*.

In addition to merchandize from Britain, we took very large quantities of linen and other dry goods from Ireland, and an enormous value in rum and

* Recent and authentic information warrants the assertion, that the United States, for six years subsequent to the treaty of Paris in 1783, imported more goods from Great-Britain than were imported from thence by any other foreign country, by the difference of at least half a million of sterling money, and probably more, though their exports to foreign nations were composed in part of our tobacco, rice, indigo, &c.

other produce of their West India islands: and further we were a nation of planters and farmers, whose quantities of unimproved and uncultivated lands were manifold greater than those which were or are yet brought into use, and consequently a great and constant demand might have been reasonably expected to exist for those supplies, which Britain, upon reasonable terms of intercourse, would be able to furnish. Our distant situation, and the transportation of goods, which will lade 650,000 tons of shipping, were circumstances favourable to the carrying trade of our liberal connexions and allies, which no other country presented to Great-Britain.—We have hitherto suffered her to participate freely in this, for it appears, that in the last year, 230,000 tons of British vessels, a fourth of all their private ships, were loaded in our ports.

If then the United States actually furnish the most solid items of British foreign commerce—if the raw materials they afford be the precious elements of a large proportion of the British manufactures—if our demands from that nation be not only much the largest, but also of kinds the most profitable to them—if our peculiar situation would have drawn us, in a greater degree, than any other country to agriculture, and from manufactures—if our language, our religion, our theories of liberty and law, were in many respects the same as theirs—the idea of our being a people *peculiarly* circumstanced, such a people as exist not elsewhere cannot, in candour, be treated as fanciful: and,

indeed, did not the seriousness of a subject, which involves the interests of two nations, suppress every feeling, which might tend to obscure them, the indecorum and acrimony, with which this and other pages of "the observations" are marked, ought not to pass without due animadversion.

The prosecution of this examination will be continued in a subsequent paper. In the mean time, what has been already thrown out, may be duly and temperately considered. The present season is interesting and critical. The policy, which the United States ought to observe, in *the legislation of commerce*, is likely to be formally discussed. At such a moment, facts, accurately ascertained and candidly stated, are of the utmost importance; for how shall we so well reason, as from what we know? It is to be desired, that *the light of indisputable truth* may enable our own legislators and those of foreign nations, to discover the ground of common interest, and that no erroneous maxims, however sanctioned, may close one avenue of mutually beneficial communication.

SECTION II.

IT was premised, in the first section, that no particular attention would be paid to order in this examination. We shall therefore proceed to remark upon timber, scantling, boards, shingles, staves, heading, and hoops, under the general denomination of

These articles are of the greatest importance to the Irish provision trade, to every branch of the fishery, to British navigation, commerce and manufactures in general, and particularly to the profitable management of West-India estates. Lord Sheffield is of opinion, that "most of them may be imported from Canada and Nova-Scotia, on as good, if not better terms, than from these states;" and that Nova-Scotia will, at least for some time, have little else to depend on, but her fisheries, provisions and cutting of lumber." But the experience of 1790, seven years after those provinces began to regain order, instructs us, that there were shipped in that year, from the United States to Nova-Scotia alone, 540,000 of staves and heading, 924,980 feet of boards, 285,000 shingles, and 16,000 hoops.

The legislature of Jamaica (the imports of which island directly from the United States, might be estimated, in 1784, at half our shipments to the British West Indies) accompanied their address to the parliament of Britain, with proofs that only 20 bundles of hoops, 301,324 shingles and staves, and 510,088 feet of lumber, were imported into that island from Canada, Nova-Scotia, and St. John's, between the 3d of April 1783, and the 26th of October 1784, a term of nearly nineteen months! It appears probable, then, that they did not supply their West India brethren with more than one half of what they import, at this mature stage of their set-

lements, from us. It is to be remembered, that Jamaica drew no supplies of our lumber through the Dutch and Danish islands; though the more windward islands at that time did. From 1768, to 1772, only 36,100 shingles and staves, and 27,235 feet of lumber, were shipped annually from the northern British colonies to the island of Jamaica.

In another page of the observations, we are told, that hoops, staves, and boards may be sent out to the West-Indies from England, "because the freight is lower than from the United States." Here again, the writer of the observations is unfortunate in his proposed means of supply: for it appears, that there were shipped, in the year above mentioned, to the *European* dominions of Great-Britain, 13,306,000 staves and heading, 3,000,000 feet of boards, 4,000,000 feet of timber, 253,000 shingles, and 6000 of hoops. We learn, too, from Mr. Anderson's history of commerce, that there were imported from England to the West-Indies, in 1787, the value of £80 : 12 : 5 sterling and no more, in boards, staves and other lumber, towards the supply of the demand of those islands, which lord Sheffield admits to have been, in 1770, about thirty-five millions of boards, scantling, staves and hoops, and fifteen millions and a half of shingles. It will appear to him an extraordinary fact, (and must excite a smile in the gravest countenance,) that the balance of the lumber account between Great Britain and her West-India colonies, is actu-

ally against the former : for we learn, from another of Mr. Anderson's documents, that there were shipped thither from those colonies, between Michaelmas 1786, and the same day in 1787, £.3070 : 13 : 11 sterling, in boards, staves, and timber.† But if the project of shipping from Europe were as rational, as it is wild, what would become of the low freights, upon which it is chiefly founded? The lumber actually taken by the British West Indies from the United States, "exhausted," as this writer misrepresents them to be, would load all the vessels that depart from Great Britain to the West Indies ; for it would fill above 100,000 tons of shipping ; and a large quantity of tonnage would still be required for the coal, malt-liquors, wines, loaf sugar, candles, soap, provisions, cordage, bale goods, earthen ware, nails, tallow, lime, carriages, &c. which are constantly shipped thither from Europe.

The prices of lumber, in London and the United States have been gravely compared ; and December 1783, was taken as the common season. It is unnecessary to lose time in disproving an allegation about a period so long passed, which, however, could be satisfactorily done, or to animadvert upon the suppression of the price of boards in which we had so much more the advantage. Our public returns from the several ports, which cannot be supposed to undervalue the article, nor indeed do they vary materially from the shipping prices give

* These were probably for dunnage, or the stowage of cargoes Of sugar, coffee, pimento, &c.

the medium rate of twelve and two-thirds dollars or £.2 : 17 sterling for red oak and white oak staves, and heading, fit for barrels, hogsheds, and pipes. The prices of staves vary exceedingly in the different markets of the United States ; and that, which was selected by the writer of the observations, is known not to be among the cheapest. Even there the article is at this time thirty per cent. below the quotation in the observations. But we have already noticed the very large exportation of lumber from the United States to the British European dominions, which alone is a sufficient contradiction of the fact, and is a satisfactory correction of the observations.

The following statement of the prices in St. Domingo and Jamaica will not be deemed uninteresting, as tending to shew the rates at which French and American vessels supply the former, and British vessels supply the latter, although the home dominions of France were incapacitated from furnishing their usual quantity of provisions.

At Kingston in Jamaica, 1790.

	June.		Oct.	Nov.	
	dolls.	dolls.	dolls.	dolls.	dolls.
Super. flour, per lb.	10. 20	to 10. 50	7.50	7.50	to 8.25
Common do. do.		9.37 $\frac{1}{2}$	6.75	7.12	to 7.50
Ship bread, do.		5.25	4.50		4.87
Indian meal, do.		5.25	4.50		5.25
Rice, per 100 lbs.		3.37 $\frac{1}{2}$	4. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	4.50	to 5.25
Pork, do.			14.		12.
Hams, per lb,		.12 $\frac{1}{2}$.16 $\frac{1}{4}$		15.
Butter, do			.15		15.
Pine boards,	24.		27.		30.
R. O. hhd. staves,	24.		31.		27.
Wooden hoops,	30.		36.		30.

At Cape Francois*, 1790.

	July.	Oct.	Nov.	
	dolls.	dolls.	dolls.	dolls.
Superfine flour, per bbl.	10.	6.50	6 to	6.50
Common do. do.	9.	5.	5 to	5.45
Ship bread,	3.52			
Indian meal, do.	3.64	2.50		
Rice, per 108 lb.	3.50	2.91		
Beef, do.	6.6	7.	7. to	.8
Hams, per lb.	.9	9.		.9
Butter, do.		9.		.12
Pine boards,	15.76	12.12		10.91
R. O. hhd. staves†.	14.	16.		12.

N. B. Wooden hoops vary in Cape-Francois from 14 to 28 dollars.

* The duties, from one to twelve and a half per cent. are included.

† The French West-Indians use very few white oak hhd. staves, making little rum, or taffia, and having a sufficiency of old casks, in which brandy has been imported.

It is not easy to ascertain the precise degree in which the British West-India islands are supplied with lumber from their own dominions. But much light is thrown upon the enquiry, by the information of the Jamaica legislature : and it appears, that the British European ports furnish none. Their northern colonies are proved to import from us now, more than they exported in 1784 : and as our return of exports of lumber to the West-India islands, for the last year, exceeds the quantity shipped thither before the revolution, the supplies from Canada and Nova-Scotia, even now, must necessarily be very inconsiderable*.

* After the first publication of this examination a proclamation of the governor of Nova Scotia was received in the United States, permitting the importation of every species of lumber, from hence into that province, for six months of 1791, during all which the St. Lawrence is free from ice. As they would have preferred to draw their supplies during the term of the licence, from Canada, if that country could have furnished them—and as lumber does not depend on seasons, and is not, like crops of grain, liable to sudden failures, an irrefragable proof is afforded, that Canada cannot supply the demand of *Nova Scotia*, much less of the West-Indies, and that Nova Scotia wants population, or timber, or both, to enable her to furnish lumber enough *for her own demand*. It seems highly probable, *that without our lumber, the West-India trade of the northern British colonies would suffer deeply*, they having neither grain, flour, biscuit, nor lumber, to fill up the vessels, which take out their parcels of fish ; and, it is also probable, that a prohibition on our part, were we inclined to it, would affect their fisheries, by enhancing the price of casks for its package. The cost of casks in Nova Scotia, at this time, is a heavier charge on their fish, than our impost, as it now stands.

The opening of the northern British colonies has been repeated twice since, and a similar measure has been recently adopted in the British West-India islands. A. D. 1793.

The state of Georgia, which is penetrated by large rivers, would probably furnish more lumber and timber than the British dominions will require in the next twenty years. It can be cut at all seasons from the nature of the climate, and her ports, which are more conveniently situated, to supply the West-Indies(though lord Sheffield says, those of Canada are more so!) are open in the middle of winter. The improvement of the inland navigation of South-Carolina will bring into the abundant lumber-market of Charleston, a new and large supply. North-Carolina has very great magazines of timber, and the openings of the Pasquotank canal will give it to all the ports of the Chesapeake. The middle and eastern states are more exhausted; but large quantities will long be exported from the Delaware, much larger from the Hudson, and still greater from the province of Maine.

NOVA-SCOTIA AND CANADA.

Great reliance is placed by this and other English writers on the supplies, which may be derived by the West-India islands from the northern British colonies. It has been already shown, that they hitherto afford little or no lumber. Of rice and naval stores they cannot furnish any, producing none. Of flour, Canada can yet have supplied but a small proportion, having very few mill, having to support cattle through long winters, and the climate preventing shipments during half the

year*. The voyage is a very heavy one, being long and on a single freight. Nova Scotia can never supply much of this article, and has taken from the United States above 40,000 barrels of meal and bread, within the last year, besides 80,000 bushels of grain.† Canada is too remote to send supplies of cattle, hogs, sheep, and horses; and our exports of these animals to Nova Scotia, prove they have not yet any to spare. Of horned cattle 899, of horses 12, of sheep 2,244, of hogs 267, and of poultry 2376, were shipped from the United States to the northern British colonies, in a little more than one year, from the autumn of 1789 to that of 1790. Very little beef, pork, hams, tongues, tallow, lard, butter, cheese, candles, or soap, can be spared to the West-Indies, by countries which import neat cattle, hogs, sheep, and poultry.

The documents adduced by the Jamaica legislature went further to show, that between the 3d of April, 1783, and the 26th of October, 1784, they had received in that populous and extensive island, from Canada, St. John's‡ and Nova Scotia, no flour—no Indian corn, beans, or oats—no ship bread or other biscuit—no Indian or other meal—no horses, cattle, sheep, hogs or poultry—10 bar-

* Canadian flour will always be subject to spoiling, as it must be made in summer.

† There are fewer mills there than in Canada.

‡ Meaning New-Brunswick.

rels of rice—160 bushels of potatoes—751 hogf-heads, 37 tierces, 39 half tierces, and 457 barrels of fish, 45 barrels of oil, 100 oars, 710 shaken casks (or puncheon packs) 21 masts and spars, with the small parcels of lumber mentioned under that head, and no other goods. They also show, that all the imports of Jamaica from Canada, Nova Scotia, and St. John's,* were, on an average of the five years, from 1768 to 1772 but 33 barrels of flour, 7 hogf-heads of fish, 8 barrels of oil, 3 barrels of tar, pitch and turpentine, 36 thousand of shingles and staves, and 27,235 feet of lumber.

How far it has been in the power of the northern British colonies, or of the British European dominions to furnish their West-India islands with flour, bread and Indian corn will further appear from the following facts. It is stated by lord Sheffield, that there were imported from hence into those islands, in a year of great plenty and trade, before the revolution, 132,426 barrels of flour and biscuit ; but our returns for $13\frac{1}{2}$ months, already mentioned, show that their late demand from us in that term, was 139,286 barrels of flour alone, and 77,982 barrels of Indian meal, middlings, ship-stuff, rye meal, and biscuit. Their former annual supply of Indian corn, received from hence, was 401,471 bushels ; and their recent importations prove to have been 516,794 bushels, in the space of time stated in our late return.

* Meaning New-Brunswick.

It is unnecessary to dwell longer upon the supplies which the remaining British American colonies were expected to afford to their West-India plantations. An experiment of years has been fairly made—The returns from their custom houses, and from those of the islands, will inform the government of Great-Britain what they really furnish at this time, and the proportion it bears to the whole demand. This head will therefore be passed over with the reiteration of a few remarks—that the British West-India islands are proved to have been indebted to the United States in 1790, for more lumber, more grain, and more bread and flour, than they imported from these states before the revolution—that their remaining colonies can therefore have furnished them, in their present mature state, but in very small quantities—that those colonies have required of us near half the amount in cattle, hogs and sheep, which the West-India islands formerly took off*—and that the high prices of salt and smoked provisions in the British West-Indies, which are greater than those in the French islands, where those articles are prohibited or heavily dutied, fully prove, that they depend for them on Ireland alone, and receive no sensible relief from the British American colonies. Their inability to furnish supplies of provisions to the West-India islands is fairly to be presumed from the proclamation of the governor of Nova Scotia, already mentioned, which, besides the article of lumber, permits the

* Besides what go to upper and lower Canada by land.

importation from the United States, of grain, flour, biscuit, cattle, sheep, poultry, &c. through the whole season of 1791, when the St. Lawrence and bay of Fundy are certainly navigable, and the province of Canada is exporting whatever it has of surplus produce.

LINSEED OIL.

This article is said, in the observations, to be made in some parts of America, from the refuse of the flaxseed, and that the quantity is trifling compared with the consumption. It is added, that considerable quantities went from Britain to America, before the war; and the English nation are left to believe, that this will continue to be the case, though they actually import seed from hence to make oil.

The cultivation of flax is exceedingly increased in this country, particularly in interior situations, and is very general. Oil mills having become more numerous, the seed in inland places is manufactured into oil. This will bear an expence of transportation, which so bulky an article as the seed, cannot sustain. Hence the present price of linseed oil, after it is brought down to the Philadelphia market, is about $2/1$ sterling, while the price in London is from $2/3$ to $2/4$. The Irish demand for our seed is about 42,000 hogsheads: after deducting that, the remainder must be made into oil here, or shipped to Europe for that purpose. This manufactory being

effected by water mills, there can be no doubt that the former disposition of the surplus seed will be made.

PAINTERS' COLOURS.

Several of the ochres are found in abundance in Virginia, Connecticut, and other parts of the United States. The interior situation of the Virginia lead mine, which now yields very copiously, will soon occasion the manufacture of white lead, and of all the preparations of lead, from the same cause that has been mentioned in the case of linseed oil, and rye spirits—economizing in the transportation. The patent colours have been imitated with great success. The trade with Holland and the Hanse towns, as also with the Mediterranean and the East-Indies, gives us many colours, which were formerly imported from Britain, like apothecaries articles, at immense advances.

COACHES AND OTHER CARRIAGES.

The importation of these was formerly very great. Virginia, in 1788, had 360 coaches and chariots, 365 phaetons and other pleasurable four-wheeled carriages, and 1,967 one-horse chairs and sofas. New-Jersey, in 1789, had 38 coaches, chariots, and phaetons, 1,549 one-horse chairs and sofas, and a very great number of plain decent light-waggons, on steel or wooden springs. From these facts, and similar truths in the other parts of the

union, it is certain that the pleasurable carriages of the United States amount to a very large sum. Though to be obtained on credit from Britain, no more than £.5,000 sterling in carriages, or parts of carriages, were imported in the year following August 1789, including those of numerous travellers and emigrators: and 220 carriages were exported to foreign countries, within the same year. All the wood and iron work, the harness and other leathern materials, frequently the brass work, fringe, lace, and lately the plated work, are made in America. Lord Sheffield seems to have expected a considerable importation of these articles: but he did not advert to the possibility, that the manufacturers themselves would emigrate to us; which is every month taking place.

“ MEDICINES AND DRUGS

“ will be imported from Great-Britain,” says the writer of the observations, “ on account of the knowledge, which the physicians, surgeons and apothecaries, in the American states, have of the method of preparing and procuring them there.” Many drugs and medicines are imported without preparation. There is, in many important instances, no difference in the modes of different nations. The *Materia Medica*, Chymistry, &c. are taught in America from the books of Europe. Men of the requisite skill from other countries are to be found in most of our principal seaports. To these many of the chymical and Galenic operations

of Holland, France, and Germany are not unknown. Saltpetre, musk, camphor, rhubarb, and other East-India articles in this line, have been shipped occasionally from the United States, in considerable parcels. Bark, sulphur, balsam capivi, and many other medicinal productions, have been obtained from Spain, the Mediterranean, the West-Indies, and other places. Holland participates largely in our importations of chymical preparations; but many, which used to be imported, are begun to be manufactured here: and exportations of them to advantage, have, in some instances taken place. The knowledge which our medical gentlemen have acquired abroad, and in their professional reading at home, of the methods of procuring drugs, has been communicated to our merchants: and their information of the methods of preparing chymical articles, has been often put in practice here. There is, no doubt, a considerable trade in these commodities from Great-Britain. But it is, even now affected by the above circumstances, and is not by any means a monopoly. From our free and enterprising commerce, the natural productions of the country, and chymical skill, it must decrease every year. Great-Britain possesses, from nature, less of these commodities than the United States. Foreign trade, and skill employed at home, will give us a great share of those, which are not spontaneous productions of our various soil and climate.

NAILS, SPIKES, AND OTHER MANUFACTURES OF IRON AND
THOSE OF STEEL,

are placed second on the list of articles, in which it is alledged Great-Britain will sustain little competition : and lord Sheffield remarks, that “ whatever we make of them, is at the expense of at least three times the amount of what the same articles could be imported for from Europe.” The iron branch is highly important and growing in the United States. In Massachusetts, there were seventy-six iron works, many of them small, in 1784. The Virginia works make above 5,300 tons of iron. The slitting and rolling mills of Pennsylvania, are ascertained to cut and roll 1500 tons or 3,360,000lbs. per annum : and so completely do they obviate the objection of manual labour, which is constantly urged against American manufactures, that they employ but twenty five hands. In that state, there are also sixteen furnaces and thirty-seven large forges. In New Jersey alone, in the year 1789, the number of forges were seventy-nine and of furnaces eight. And though the details are not so well known, they are very numerous in Maryland and most of the states. These works are annually increasing, and particularly in interior situations. The nails and spikes consumed yearly in the United States, (calculating on 4,000,000 people, at ten to a house, including negroes, which gives 400,000 houses) allowing ten pounds for the average use of all the persons living in each house, in building, repairing, fencing, and in their business, and manufactur-

ing, would be 4,000,000lbs. Of this quantity there were imported in the returned year, 1,800,000lbs: and about 2,200,000lbs. must, therefore, have been made at home. The remainder of the slit and rolled iron is either exported or made into tire, hoops, springs for carriages, or some other substitutes for foreign imported articles. Ship-building also demands very large quantities of iron work. Ploughshears, carriages, axes, saws, hoes, spades, shovels, kitchen utensils, and many other articles employ the American workers in this raw material. About one half of the steel, consumed in the United States, is home made, and new furnaces are building at this moment. The works being few, and the importation ascertained, this fact is known to be accurate. Bar iron before the revolution, was usually sold for sixty four dollars. It fell, after the war, to the same price; and large quantities of iron in bars and pigs were exported. The progress of manufactures has raised these articles to the highest prices ever known in peace; and only 200 tons in bars, and 3,555 tons in pigs were exported in thirteen months and a half of 1789, and 1790. The exportation of this quantity was principally to throw the requisite weight into the bottoms of the ships laden with cargoes of tobacco or lumber. Lord Sheffield states, that we shipped 2,592 tons of bar iron, and 4,624 tons of pig metal per annum, in several years before the revolution, when it is known our commerce and population were not at the highest. It is also to be observed, that we now import considerable quantities of bar iron from the Baltic

and its vicinity, particularly into the eastern states. One thousand two hundred and eighty-eight tons of bar iron, were imported from St. Petersburg alone, in the year 1790, and above forty tons of iron hoops and nail rods. From these facts may be collected convincing proofs of the state of the iron manufactures of this country, strongly opposed to the presumptions of lord Sheffield, as well with respect to the dearth of those manufactures, as the monopoly of our supplies.

FLOUR AND WHEAT.

These inestimable commodities are not, in the opinion of lord Sheffield, the best staples for the United States to depend on; because as he observes, in general the demand in Europe is uncertain. He again repeats his unfounded notion of a competition between us and Nova Scotia for the supply of Europe, in these articles; and adds, that it is a fortunate consequence of American independence, that the British European islands may regain the supply of their West-Indies, with bread and flour, and that they can furnish them cheaper than we. In regard to the prospects from Nova Scotia, enough has been already said, and particularly till they discover symptoms of internal resources for their own use, by ceasing to import grain and flour from the United States. As to the European corn trade, authentic and important information, indeed, is to be derived from a report of the British privy council, of March 1790, which is said to have been

drawn by lord Hawkfbury. It is wifely obferved, in that report, that the culture of grain is the moft important object, that can receive the public attention : and it is ftated that the demand of Great Britain, for flour and grain, has produced an average balance againft the nation, of £.291,000 ftirling, for the laft nineteen years, although from the year 1746, to the year 1765, they had annually gained, by their corn trade, £.651,000 ftirling on a medium. Ireland, it is true, has greatly increafed its exports of grain, flour, and bifeuit, but by no means in proportion to this falling off by Great Britain, and its whole exports of flour and grain are much lefs than our fhipments to the Britifh Weft Indies. Their lordfhips proceed to ftate, that in confequence of information received by them from the principal corn countries of Europe, they are of opinion, that the quantity of grain raifed in Europe, in common years, is not more than equal to the ordinary confumption of its inhabitants ; and that, in the event of a failure of their crops, *a fupply can only be expected from America*. In verification of this formal official communication, on a fubject of fuch high importance, we find, that the influence of the late fcarcity in France, not only pervaded all Europe, but was extended to the moft interior counties of thefe ftates. Wheat was fold on that occafion three hundred miles from the ocean, for prices which have been ufually acceptable in our fea-port towns : and at the places of fhipment, it was advanced to rates beyond what had ever occurred fince the fettlement of the country.

When we remember, that by grain liquors we may avoid the purchase of eleven millions and a half of gallons of the spirits, or ingredients for spirits of foreign nations; that by grain these states are rendered the alternate ground of dependance of every European nation, in time of need; that we are protected from the possibility of dreadful famine by this blessed production; that grain is the raw material in which some considerable manufacturers work, and which all must necessarily consume; we must smile at the ideas which lord Sheffield has hazarded, in regard to those precious staples, wheat and flour.

GUNPOWDER,

It is asserted, will be imported cheaper than it can be manufactured in America. The price of this important article has been reduced in the Philadelphia market to sixteen dollars, or £.3:12 sterling per 100 wt. by the free importation of brimstone and saltpetre from India and other countries. Our merchants usually pay for it in England at the rate of 75 to 76 shillings sterling, after deducting the drawback on exportation. Twenty-one powder mills have been erected in Pennsylvania alone, since the year 1768 or 1770—much the greater part of them since the commencement of the revolution war; four new ones are now building in that state, one at Baltimore, and others in different parts of the United States; and it is certain they will be multiplied in proportion to the demand, whether

it be for home consumption or exportation. Of the quantity commonly on hand in the Philadelphia magazine, not more than seven per cent. is of foreign manufacture*. Saltpetre and sulphur are found in considerable quantities, particularly in the interior parts of Virginia: but at present the commercial supplies are so plentiful and cheap, that our internal resources are little used. Saltpetre is cheaper in Philadelphia than in London.

THE ABILITY OF GREAT-BRITAIN TO MAKE HER SHIPS
THE CARRIERS FOR THE UNITED STATES.

It is explicitly declared, in the 39th page of lord Sheffield's introduction, that the adoption of the ground proposed by him, will insure to British ships the carrying trade of the United States; "for (he adds) it is certain, if our navigation laws be maintained, it will not answer the Americans to keep many ships." This it will be admitted, is to us, if true, a very interesting position, and demands our most serious attention. It will, however, be very easy to show, that the private shipping of the United States does not depend upon British laws. The tables, which accompany the report on the American fisheries, from the department of state, clearly prove, that we are not dependent on Great-Britain for that branch of commerce. In the regulation of our coasting trade, which employs above 100,000 tons of shipping, and which will

* None, but American powder is now received there. A. D.
1793.

constantly increase with our population, manufactures, and use of coal, British laws can have no operation. In our commerce with the Baltic, and the North, with all the Netherlands, the Hanse towns, France, Spain, Portugal, through the streights, with most parts of Africa and India, and the colonies of the European nations, except the British, their navigation act cannot affect us. It appears moreover, that our ships are so "many," as to have amounted to 360,000 tons of vessels laden in our ports, by a return which is incomplete, while those of Great-Britain and her dominions were 225,000 tons. But it is possible, that considerable deductions from the British tonnage may happen. There is little doubt, that the diminutions of our importations from their dominions, which have taken place, in regard to China merchandize, and other India goods, Italian, Russian, Dutch, and German goods, paper, nails, sheet iron, steel, shoes, and boots, gunpowder, lead, coal, salt, malt liquors, loaf and brown sugars, coffee, cocoa and spirituous liquors, by reason of our intercourse with other nations, and the great improvement of our own resources and manufactures, will be followed by further commercial acquisitions from liberal nations, by the constant introduction of new foreign manufactures, and the discovery and attainment of new internal resources. If, for example, cotton be raised and imported, and spinning mills be erected, Manchester importations will decrease: if flax and hemp be raised and imported, in greater quantities, and flax

and hemp spinning mills be erected, sail-cloth sheeting, and shirting linens, checks, oznabrigs, table and towel linen, &c. will be imported more sparingly. If by these and other means, our imports from Great-Britain should be finally reduced to such a sum, as will purchase only so much rice, tobacco, and other articles as its people consume, those articles will not be shipped indirectly to foreign countries, through British ports, as is now the case. These indirect shipments afford British vessels more than an equal chance in the competition with ours from America to England; because the property is generally on English account, and it gives them so far the command of the carriage from England to other parts of Europe. From these circumstances, it will be perceived, that it is interesting to our private shipping, and consequently to our success in the establishment of a navy, that we continue by prudent and salutary means, to decrease our importations from each foreign country, so as in a greater degree to equalize them with the consumption, which that country actually makes of our productions: this, however, it is conceived, ought not to be attempted, by any precipitate or coercive means; but by the establishment of our mercantile credit in other countries, by commercial enterprise, capital and and manufacturing industry.

A second cause, which renders the intercourse in the shape of exportation to Great-Britain inordinately great, is to be found in the old private debts

due to that country from this. These, so far as they will be paid by money or goods, are considerably diminished. The rise of our stocks, and the sales of them to foreigners, have enabled many to lessen those debts : and British subjects will continue to find it their interest to buy into them. These are payments, which occasion only a remittance of the interest; and the commutation of private for public debts is therefore to be desired. Part of the old debts which remain due to the English merchants, must be received in the soil and buildings of this country. When these shall be accepted by the creditor, they will still remain immoveable: and he will find himself, or his child, transformed into an American freeholder, to his profit and that of the United States, though to the injury, and sometimes the ruin of the unfortunate debtor. This change of the creditor's situation, will not be unpleasing to a liberal mind of any country, and, if properly understood, may greatly meliorate the prospects of the family and connexions of many in Britain, who are concerned in American debts. A country, of great native strength, becoming energetic, intelligent, free, not disposed to provoke either insults or injuries, and in a situation not to submit to a wanton imposition of either, holds out as great promises of human happiness, as any, of which the foreign creditor can have been a citizen. He is sure of a kind reception, and of the protection of the laws and constitution in his person, property, and religion.

A third cause, which has produced an extraordinary intercourse in the shape of importations from Great-Britain, has been the want of credit from other nations. We now annually import from that kingdom about 900,000 dollars, in articles not of its growth, produce, or manufacture; and though we have reduced this from about 2,200,000 dollars since the separation of the two countries, there is yet that great value expensively, because circuitously, imported. The pursuit of this accustomed track, established in the time of the old British monopoly, has been one cause of these unnatural importations—but the chief cause was *the credit* we found from England. The British merchants will probably continue to afford the greatest accommodations of this kind; but it is evident, that the citizens of other countries will furnish us with credits, and sometimes in more eligible shapes. They will give us their cash articles and their coin, to be employed in ready-money trades at home and abroad, in manufactures and foreign commerce. In proof of this may be adduced the respondentia credits in India and China, the purchases into our several bank stocks, the investment of monies in our lands,* and in our navigation, trade, and manufactures. The medium imports from Great-Britain for several years before the revolution, appear, from European accounts, to be to the medium imports for

* These continue in numerous and great instances—6,500,000 acres of our new lands have been purchased by foreigners within the last two years. A. D. 1793.

an equal term of years antecedent to 1790, as 27 to 23, though our population has probably almost doubled ; and though much larger importations than heretofore, by persons intending to remain here, have also contributed to swell the quantity in the latter term. What is to follow in this way, time, it is believed, will very quickly show.

In addition to the foregoing causes, which seem likely to occasion a diminution of the proportion of shipping employed directly and indirectly by Great-Britain in the American trade (including the exportation of our productions from the British ports to other markets in Europe) one other, which does not seem to have sufficiently engaged their attention, may produce, it is believed, very considerable effects. The regulations of the British navigation act do not appear to have been duly examined by other European powers, with a view to the adoption of such of them as will apply beneficially to their own affairs. If they have had effects so favourable to the shipping and naval power of Britain, it is possible, and highly probable they might be, in a greater or less degree, beneficial to other countries. The present appears a fit season for such an examination in America : and we cannot suffer, if we enter on it with temper and discretion. That it would diminish the number of British vessels, for example, if the United States and all other maritime countries, should deem it expedient to enact into a law of their respective nations, *the clause of the British statute, by which the importation of all*

foreign goods is confined to native bottoms and to those of the nation producing the articles, cannot be doubted. Whether this regulation will be convenient to the United States—to France—to Spain—to Portugal—to Russia—to Prussia, who, exporting twenty or thirty times the bulk of goods, that Great-Britain ships, do not, altogether enjoy a part of the carriage for foreign nations, equal to what she possesses, is a question those nations are severally to consider and determine. Facts, in the mean time, are highly interesting. In the year 1772, as Mr. Anderson informs, the imports and exports of the Baltic were made in 6680 vessels, of which the British were 1894, the French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Russian only 45. The commodities carried thither (in addition to their own manufactures) were the produce and fabrics of all the countries of Europe and of the East and West-Indies, which, by their navigation act, could not have been imported into Great-Britain in like manner. The same may be said of the cargoes they brought away, so far as they were carried directly to the ports of other nations, or were re-shipped from their own ports in their original form. The same writer states the British entries in Lisbon, in the year 1788, to have been 351, and those of Portugal, in her own metropolis and emporium, to have been only 283. The Spaniards had but 31, the Russians one, the Prussians one, and Dantzickers one. By the same authority we are instructed, that the British entries in Malaga in 1787, were 189, the Dutch 24, the Portuguese five, the Russi-

ans, Prussians, and Dantzickers, none. In the year 1778, the British entries in Cronstadt, the port of the city of St. Petersburg, were 252; those of Russia, though in her own capital, were only twelve, of Spain six, of Portugal two, of Hamburg and Bremen five. In the year 1790, the British entries, in the same port, were 517 out of 932: and we have recently seen, that the British have supplied themselves and the other nations of Europe, with cargoes of our commodities amounting to 230,000 tons, while those Europeans carried for themselves no more than one sixth of the quantity! It is not intended to discuss, in this place, the policy of adopting so momentous a regulation as that alluded to, observations on which are rendered peculiarly delicate by the situation in which it is placed by the national legislature. The instance, it is conceived, however, will forcibly inculcate the utility of the examination suggested in the beginning of this paragraph, and will lead to useful reflections on the consequences, which such an examination may induce. The facts, by which it is illustrated, appeared too serious and important to Americans and to foreigners, not to be adduced. It will be perceived, that it is equally the interest of those who are Englishmen, to consider the certain effects of such an examination of the British trade laws, and of those who are not. Some of the convictions, which such an enquiry, made with judgment, would create in the minds of candid men, would probably be, that Great-Bri-

tain cannot not make her ships the carriers for the United States : and that rather than make the attempt, it would be better far to commence the formation of liberal arrangements, solidly founded in the mutual interests of the two nations.

S E C T I O N I I I .

I N the prosecution of this examination, our attention is drawn to the article of

FINE AND COARSE HATS.

The writer of the observations remarks, that the high price of wool and labour must induce the Americans to import the felt and common hats. The increase of our population, as in other new countries, has been accompanied by an increase of the quantity of wool. Sheep have been found, on frequent and fair experiments, to be very profitable to the farmer†. Importation, though hitherto casual, has supplied us with some wool. Hatters are found in every part of the United States. The following table, which was contained in a report made by a committee to the manufacturing society of Philadelphia, will show the state of the hatting business in Pennsylvania, and discovers a fact little known even to her own citizens, that 12,340 hats are annually made in the four counties beyond the Allegany mountains*.

† The American farmers are become very generally sensible of the great profits of breeding sheep.

	Hatters.	Fur hats.	Wool hats.
In the city and county } of Philadelphia,	68	31,637	7,600
Montgomery, - - -	10	800	1,000
Delaware, - - -	14	1,500	4,000
West-Chester, - -	14	1,300	4,000
Lancaster, - - -	16	3,000	15,000
Dauphin, - - -	10	1,200	4,000
Bucks, - - -	12	1,000	1,000
Berks, - - -	38	2,200	54,000
York, - - -	26	2,600	30,000
Cumberland, -	16	1,300	9,000
Northumberland, -	10	700	5,000
Northampton, - -	12	1,000	7,000
Bedford, - - -	8	800	2,000
Franklin, - - -	10	800	2,000
Luzerne, - - -	6	400	1,400
Huntington, - - -	6	1,400	2,000
Mifflin, - - -	6	400	2,000
Westmoreland*, } Fayette*, } Allegany*, } Washington*, }	10 7 6 10	600 400 400 800	3,000 1,540 1,600 4,000
<hr/>			
	315	54,237	161,140
<hr/>			

From this return, it appears that every county in the state participates in the hatting business, there being none but what are in the above list†.

† The county of New-London, in Connecticut, contains seventeen hatters, who make yearly 10,000 wool and fur hats. The

The United States are found to contain near 4,000,000 inhabitants, and of that number the whites are conjectured to be about 3,300,000. If a hat per annum, be allowed for every third person of this last number, 1,100,000 hats per annum, would be a supply for the United States, and the above 215,000 made in a single state, may be considered as more than equal in value to one fifth of the demand, a quarter of the number being of fur. It is to be remembered, that leathern hats and fur caps are not rarely seen in the interior country. This branch has not grown up suddenly in America ; but was commenced among our first manufactures, and has made a regular progress with the population. The furs of the country have at once held out a strong temptation, and afforded the easy means. Lastly, the increase of wool has given a great extension to the manufacture. The practical difficulties, suggested by lord Sheffield, can gain little credit under so successful a course of the business ; but the truth is, that few handicrafts are more quickly acquired by apprentices, who can open shops for themselves long before they are permitted in many parts of Europe. Foreign shops have also been established here, by emigrants from Germany, France and Britain.*

army of the United States has been furnished with American hats, made by contractors, who did and could obtain the contract only by underbidding, in sealed proposals received from importers and hat-makers. A. D. 1791.

* This is likewise a branch effected by manual industry.

BOOKS.

“ All school and common books,” in the opinion of lord Sheffield, may be sent cheaper from Britain, than they can be printed in America.” The great and constant increase of paper mills in the United States, the extension of those longest erected, the establishment of type founderies and the introduction of engravers and book-binders, have made a greater change in regard to *the business of book printing*, than has happened with respect to any other equally valuable branch of manual art.* The Latin and Greek school books are imported in greater numbers than heretofore ; because our population is considerably increased, since the separation from Great-Britain, and the use of them is too limited to render an edition profitable : but a very great proportion of the English school books (which are in general use) are printed here. Of some kinds there are none imported ; and several of them, with alterations and improvements, have been published. A number of the law books, which are most demanded, have been reprinted with advantage : and an edition of the Encyclopædia, in fifteen large quartos, containing about 5 per cent. more matter than that printed in Great-Britain, is now publishing at se-

* The advertisement of a single book-store in Philadelphia, published in the gazettes of the present year, contains seventy editions of different books printed in the United States. This, it is to be observed, is also a branch effected *by hand*.

venty dollars, or fifteen guineas—precisely the price charged to *subscribers* for the British edition. The cuts in the American copy are equally numerous, and are really the best.

There are two circumstances, which will establish the book-printing business in this country—the opportunity of publishing immediately, for the American demand, all books in every European language,* within the term of the copy right; and the printing of moderate sized and plain editions, instead of the large, ornamented, and expensive copies which are now the fashion in Europe. A superb quarto, on the best vellum paper, with an elegant but unnecessary copperplate frontispiece, richly gilt and lettered, (the dress in which modern writers often introduce their works) costs more than is agreeable to the people of this country, who desire valuable matter for their money. The freight, duties, and other charges of importation, depending either on the bulk or value, are very much enhanced; and our printers find it easy to embrace the opportunity which these circumstances afford them to furnish their country with a

* The first premium for excellency in printing was adjudged by the Pennsylvania manufacturing society to the publishers of a book in the *German* language, in the inland town of Lancaster, in that state several attempts at French gazettes have been made; and French advertisements are frequent in our newspapers. German gazettes are constantly printed. The laws of Pennsylvania, and of the United States are published in the German language.

cheap octavo, and sometimes even a duodecimo, in its stead.

German school books are much demanded in this country, as may be supposed, when it is remembered how numerous, in the United States, the persons are, who read and speak that language—probably 150,000 to 180,000 of our people. These books are either imported from Holland, or the Hanse towns, or printed in America. England supplies none of them.

The extension of the French language, together with the intercourse between the United States and that nation, which took place in the year 1776, and the alliance in 1778, with which it was followed, will naturally be supposed to have increased the demand for French books. These are principally imported from France, the Hanse towns, Holland, and Flanders; and some few are printed in America.

Books in these two languages could not be imported, before the revolution, from any country, except Great-Britain: but are now drawn, as above mentioned, from other foreign sources, or the American printing presses.

THAT THE AMERICANS WILL IN FUTURE GIVE A PREFERENCE TO BRITISH MANUFACTURES BEFORE ALL OTHERS—THAT IT WILL BE A LONG TIME BEFORE THE AMERICANS WILL MANUFACTURE FOR THEMSELVES—AND THAT OUR DEMAND FOR BRITISH GOODS WILL INCREASE IN PROPORTION TO OUR POPULATION.

The manufactures of Great-Britain and Ireland* are very generally good, often excellent, and almost always as handsome as the nature of the article will admit. Yet, there are not wanting proofs, that we shall take considerable quantities of goods from other countries. Twenty-two ships, for example, arrived in the United States from St. Petersburg, in the year 1790, with cordage, ticking, drillings, diaper, broad linens, narrow linens, printed linens, crash, sheetings, ravens duck, Russia duck, nail rods, and rolled iron for hoops. The remainder of their cargoes were bar iron, hemp, and flax, which were intended to be manufactured here. Nankeens, silks, long-cloths, porcelain and some small articles, are imported regularly from China: and muslins, plain, striped, figured, and printed, with silks, and a variety of other articles, are imported from India. It being manifestly very injurious to the manufacturing interest of every nation in Europe, even to import, and much more so to consume these goods, there can be no

* The linens, and flaxen hosiery of Britain and Ireland are however much fallen off in goodness, since they have applied the tow and worst flax to the manufacture of coarse goods, wherein strength is indispensable.

doubt, that they will be supplied to us in the East-Indies, with more readiness every year; and if a few more callico printers were to establish themselves among us, the importation of printed linens, callicoes and cottons might be exceedingly diminished. The importation also of dowlafs, ozna-burghs, ticklenburgs, and other German linens, and of Haerlem stripes, and tapes, from Bremen, Ham-burgh, and Amsterdā, together with the manufactory of every ton of hemp, and almost every ton of flax, which we raise or import, together with some cotton, has very much affected the British and Irish linen trade*. It appears from various documents, that the average exports of their manufactures to the United States for several years prior to the year 1789, were near half a million of dollars less than the average exports of several years immediately antecedent to the war, though our population has probably doubled in the last twenty-five years. It is not improbable, however, that the great quantities of goods shipped since 1789, in consequence of the jealousy of American manufactures, the apprehension of a rupture with Spain, and the efforts of the British cotton manufacturers to banish East-India goods from our markets, would show a considerable increase in the last and present years. In short, the United States are an open market: the American merchants are men of judgment and enterprise; and consequently the goods of every

* The use of cotton shirts is extending in America, being thought very favourable to health. A. D. 1793.

country in the world, which are adapted to our consumption, are found in our ware-houses. It is certainly true, that among them are very large quantities of British manufactures, being much and justly approved, and being imported on convenient credits by our merchants, and copiously shipped by British merchants and manufacturers on their own account, to their correspondents here. If properly conducted on both sides, it may yet be a very beneficial trade to the two countries; but it has not excluded the valuable goods of other nations, nor has it prevented a very great progress of our own manufactures, particularly in the family way. Cordage, gunpowder, steel, nails, paper, paper-hangings, books, stationary, linseed oil, carriages, hats, wool and cotton cards, stockings, shoes, boots, shot, and many other articles are made in considerable quantities, some of them as far as fifty per centum on the demand, and other in quantities nearly equal to the consumption. Substantial freedom, liberal wages, and cheap and excellent living, free from any excise, except a very small one, (compared with any in Europe) upon spirituous liquors, operate daily to bring us manufacturers and artisans in the manual branches; and we are beginning to see the great, and to us, the *peculiar* value of labour-saving machines. The rate of manual labour is no objection against them, but a *absolutely* in their favour; for it is clear, that they must yield the greatest profit in countries where the price of labour is the highest. The first judicious European capitalists, who shall take good situations in the United States, and establish manufactories,

by labour-saving machines, must rapidly and certainly make fortunes. They cannot, it is presumed, be long insensible of this; but if they should continue so, the appreciation of our public stocks will probably bring some of our own capitalists into the business. The public creditors, the owners of perhaps fifteen millions sterling of now inactive wealth, might at this moment do much towards the introduction of the cotton mills, wool-mills, flax and hemp-mills, and other valuable branches of machine manufacturing. It is past a doubt, that were a company of persons of character and judgment to subscribe a stock for this purpose of 500,000 dollars in the public paper, they might obtain upon a deposit of it, a loan of as much coin from some foreign nation, at an interest less than six per cent. Was such a company to be incorporated, to have its stock transferable as in a bank, to receive subscriptions from 400 dollars upwards, to purchase 500 or 1000 acres of land well situated for receiving imported materials and exporting their fabrics—were they to erect works in the centre of such a body of land, to lay out their grounds in a convenient town-plat, and to proceed with judgment and system in their plan, they would be sure of success in their manufactories; they would raise a valuable town upon their land, and would help to support the value of the public debt.* Were a

* This measure, which was in contemplation at the time when these papers were written, has been since digested and commenced. The capital already engaged amounts to above 600,000 dollars. A. D. 1791. The proprietors of all the inland towns in the Uni-

few establishments, like that described, to take place (and there are room and funds for many of them) even the manufactories of *piece goods*, of every kind in which machinery could be applied, would soon be introduced with profit into the United States. It cannot, on cool reflexion, be expected, that a country remote from all the manufacturing nations, able to produce the requisite raw materials and provisions, and subject to many interruptions in their exportation to foreign markets, will continue to depend on distant transmarine sources, for the mass of her necessary supplies. The wonderful progress of other nations, which have commenced manufactures under disadvantages much greater than any we have to contend with, will powerfully incite us to exertion. Until the year 1667, a piece of woollen cloth was never dyed and dressed in England. This great manufacture was quickly after improved by the skill of foreign emigrants, (a mean at our command;) and so rapidly has the woollen branch advanced, that it was estimated, in 1783, at the immense sum of £. 16,800,000 sterling (above seventy-four millions of dollars) per annum, and was equal in value to all the exports, and superior to all the revenues of Great-Britain. It may, perhaps, be asked, why manufactures were not established in the late war? Any man, who makes a comparison of a variety of branches, as they were in 1774, and as they stood in 1782, will

ted States appear to have become sensible of the advantages, which will arise from attracting manufacturers to them. A. D. 1793.

perceive a great advance to have actually taken place, though manufactures were little encouraged through the intermediate eight years, by reason of the total occupation of government in the prosecution of the war: their importance moreover was not duly estimated. The British manufacturers, who can now emigrate with the greatest convenience, then viewed the people of this country as enemies. Neither they, nor the people of other nations (who indeed knew little of us) cared to risk themselves in an invaded country, nor would they hazard a capture in their passages hither. Notwithstanding these impediments, the manufacturers of the United States have been found to be the most successful competitors with those of Great-Britain in the American market. They have not made fine linens, fine cloths, silks, stuffs, and other articles requiring a great degree of skill, labour, or capital; but they have made common cloths of linen, woollen, and cotton, steel, nails, sheet iron, paper, gunpowder, cannon and musquets, cabinet work, carriages, shoes, and fabrics of the simple but most important and necessary kinds. ¶ See the *supplementary note, concerning the progress and present state of American domestic or household manufactures*, which follows, No. VII.

THAT IT WOULD BE IMPOLITIC IN GREAT-BRITAIN, TO ADMIT AMERICAN VESSELS INTO HER WEST-INDIA ISLANDS.

This is a very momentous question to Great-Britain ; and therefore whatever may be the real merits of it, the people of that country might have been expected to consider it with first impressions unfavourable to the admission of foreigners. It is also probable, that the Americans may have taken a partial view of the subject, from the great interest, they suppose they have, to obtain a participation in the British West-India trade. There are two positions of lord Sheffield, relative to this subject, which appear conformable with truth and reason, and in which it is of great consequence, that we should, on mature reflection, agree. The first is, “ *That the cultivation of the British West-India islands might be carried much farther than it is,*” which he supports by observing “ *that the produce of the island of Jamaica might be trebled at least.*” The second is, “ *That the nation which may hereafter be in possession of the most extensive and best cultivated sugar islands,* will take the lead at sea.*”

If the first of these positions be true, both in regard to the British West-Indies in general, and the island of Jamaica in particular, then it becomes a matter of the utmost importance to Great-Britain,

* Or transmarine colonies.

by reason of the second position, to adopt *the best possible system for promoting the cultivation of the vacant lands and improved estates in the several islands*. Persons, who have contended with the difficulties and expences of settling new plantations, and who are acquainted with the management of West-India estates, will be sensible, that cheap supplies of building materials, and other necessary incipient articles, give the greatest facility and certainty to those who are struggling to effect a new settlement: and keeping down the contingent expences of planting and raising produce, and of packing and preparing the crop for market, is manifestly a sure mean of increasing the profits of an estate. In this point of light, it must be immensely against the British West-India producers of 7,500,000 gallons of rum, and 2,000,000 cwt. of sugars, with cotton, coffee, pimento and other articles, that they receive their staves, boards, provisions, and other supplies, on terms so much higher than the French, the Dutch, and the Danes. While the islands of France were furnished in the last year, by French and American bottoms, with red oak hoghead staves, at 12, 14, and 16 dollars—with hoops, at 14 to 28 dollars—with pine boards, at 11 to 16 dollars—with Indian meal, at $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 and two third dollars per barrel—with ship-bread, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ dollars per 108 pounds; the British planters in Jamaica were obliged to pay for red oak hoghead staves, 24, 27, and 31 dollars; for wooden hoops, 27, 30, and 36 dollars; for pine boards 24, 27, and 30 dollars; for Indian meal $4\frac{1}{4}$,

to $5\frac{1}{4}$ dollars ; for ship-bread the same ; and for rice per 100 pounds $3\frac{1}{3}$ to $5\frac{1}{4}$ dollars. Let considerate men determine, whether the British colonial agriculture must not be depressed, and that of the French be exceedingly elevated, under such circumstances. It is plain that the latter will find it easy to extend their plantations into grounds now uncultivated, if the British planters should be able to endure their disadvantages. In conformity with this reasoning, we find that the produce of French St. Domingo, shipped to Europe, which, before the late war, is stated by lord Sheffield to have employed no more than 450 ships, was sufficient, in the year 1788, to load for France 580 ships, of $370\frac{3}{4}$ tons on a medium, and 110 of 740 tons, (exclusive of the numerous French and foreign vessels employed in the trade with North and South America,) amounting in the whole to 296,435 tons, nearly equal to one third of the private ships of Britain. The whole of the vessels loaded in 1787, from all the British West-India islands to England and Scotland, amounted to but 132,222 tons. In 1788 the quantity was the same, and as the writer of the observations admits that the produce of Jamaica was before the war two thirds in value (though less in bulk) of that of St. Domingo, the British colonial agriculture must have advanced, if at all, in a much less degree than that of the French. This great increase of the French navigation, resulting from *a prosperous West-Indian agriculture, abundantly and cheaply supplied*, is a verification of the prediction of lord Sheffield, which

was mentioned above, and induces the most reasonable doubts, whether it would be really impolitic in Great-Britain to admit American vessels into her West-India islands. As it is of great importance to this argument, to establish the actual increase of the French produce upon stronger ground than even the highest probability, it may be useful to state, that the sugars exported from St. Domingo, in 1786, were near 133 millions of pounds; in 1788, near 163 millions and an half; that the coffee in 1786 was about 51 millions of pounds; and, on the average of 1787 and 1788, near 70 millions; and that the cotton, in 1786 was 5,200,000 pounds—and, on the average of 1787 and 1788, above 6,500,000 pounds—also that the molasses, which in 1786 was 21,855 hhds. was increased in 1788, to 29,503.

The augmentation of the French vessels, employed from St. Domingo alone, appears to be equal to 108,000 tons. If the whole of their sugar colonies have prospered in the same degree, it is probable their acquisition of shipping may be safely estimated at 162,000 tons, which is 47,000 tons more than lord Sheffield supposes to have been employed, before the American revolution, between the British sugar islands and *all* the American provinces, and is very far beyond the tonnage employed at this time in the trade of those islands with the United States. The British publications represent it to be less than 21,000 tons, making

three voyages per annum, the aggregate entries of which, they consider, as about 62,000 tons.

It is alledged, American vessels cannot be admitted without offence to other countries: but that has not been found an objection to the admission by the French. Nor, if the regulation were properly made, would the allies of England have any cause of complaint; for they might participate in the trade, if they could find advantage in so doing, which, however, would not be the case. The ships of Russia, of Holland, of Great-Britain, of Spain, of Portugal, of the United States, and of all other foreign countries, may enter the French islands with the same kind of goods, even American articles. The English, indeed, would be much more protected in the island trade than the French; because by other clauses in their laws, the goods brought by each flag must be its own national productions.

It may be argued that the Americans would take a large proportion of the carriage to the British islands: but this, if true, is the strongest proof, that can be adduced, of the expediency of the measure, as calculated to promote the colonial agriculture, and thus aid and support the navy of Great-Britain. France, it is seen, by the mode proposed, has added nearly as much to her shipping, in the trade of a single island, as England enjoys in the monopoly of the intercourse with all her islands, by the mode she pursues. The British shipping, too, if ours were

admitted, would certainly maintain themselves in a considerable portion of the trade: and in proof of this, it may be observed, that the French employ of their own vessels in their West-India trade from this country, nearly two-thirds of the tonnage that is engaged in their commerce between these states and France. It is material to observe, that in the intercourse between the French islands and the United States, the tonnage of the British, Dutch, Spanish, Danes, Swedes, and Portuguese, does not amount to two per cent. upon the whole of the vessels employed.

THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER FOR BRITAIN TO GIVE UP THE
ISLANDS THAN THEIR CARRYING TRADE.

As the arguments on this point, adduced by lord Sheffield, relate only to the carrying trade between the United States and the British West-India islands, the observations will proceed on the same ground. The whole freight between the two countries prior to the war, he estimates at £.245,000, rather than lose which, he thinks it better to give up those valuable islands, the produce whereof, according to various estimations, is worth three or four millions sterling, and whose inhabitants are very free consumers of British and Irish manufactures. A prudent administration should beware of a writer, who palpably deceives himself by too ardently maintaining a favourite hypothesis. But a relinquishment of the trade, on the part of Great-Britain, is not desired; nor can a loss of it be supposed to follow the admission of our vessels to a

participation in it. The ships always employed in the circuitous voyage would still continue to pursue it; those belonging to the West Indians themselves, the Bahamans, the Bermudians, and the northern British colonies, would still enjoy a large portion: the remainder would be done by the Americans, who now suffer the British nation to employ a very large quantity of tonnage in imports from, and exports to foreign countries, other than British, without any reciprocation.

THAT THE SHIPPING GREAT-BRITAIN GAINS, BY EXCLUDING THE AMERICANS, WILL BE AT HAND.

Lord Sheffield undertakes to say, that the navigation of those provinces, which are now the United States, operated as a drain of British seamen; and conveys an idea, that the sailors employed here, were of no use to Britain. The prompt manning of their ships on this station, the cheap and certain supply of their West-Indies, in the war of 1755 to 1762, the distress to the French and Spanish trade by American privateers, the affair of Cape Breton, the great exportation of prize goods from this country, and other weighty facts, might be adduced to prove this not the smallest of his errors. Assuming that we were too remote to be of any use in time of war, he proceeds to a conclusion, that the navigation employed in the supply of the islands, will be hereafter nearer home, inferring that it will belong to the merchants of their European dominions. This may be in a

great degree the case, as to the sugar ships, which make the circuitous voyage from Europe to the United States, the West-Indies and Europe; and it was equally so, as to that description of traders, before the revolution: but the direct intercourse between these states and the British West-India islands, from which we are excluded, must, from the nature of the trade, be carried on principally in vessels owned in those islands, whose situation is more remote than ours, and by British subjects residing in our ports, Bermudians, and the people of the northern British colonies, all of whom are as distant as we.

THAT AMERICA COULD NEVER BE UNITED AGAIN,

Was a settled opinion of the writer of the observations. He did not perceive that accident, principally, had cast us into the form of thirteen states. It is true, that the extreme injuries of disunion were not generally foreseen by many of our own citizens. The utility—the necessity of strengthening the national government, had not come home, as it has since done, to the minds of the American people. Many of their friends, however, saw with regret, and some of those who were not their friends, perceived with a satisfaction not the most honourable, that the prospects of individual happiness, and of national prosperity had ceased to be fair. The most miserable ill that can afflict the political body, *the want of a fit organization*, had brought on alarming convulsions; and there were

no evils which were not to be apprehended, unless a change of system could be effected. In this moment, the friends of order came forth. The jarring interests, on the effects of which the writer relies, were made to harmonize. The difference of "manners, of climates, and of staples," did not intervene, according to his expectations, as insurmountable obstacles to amity and union. That hearty co-operation, the hope of which is treated as preposterous, has actually taken place : and the American people now universally perceive, "that whatever measures have a tendency to dissolve their union, or contribute to violate or lessen the sovereign authority, ought to be considered as hostile to their liberty and independency."

It remains, then, for those, who have believed in these predictions of ruinous contentions among the people, and an enfeebling discord in the councils of the United States, to consider, in so different a course of things, the conduct which ought to be observed : and for us it remains steadily to proceed in the good work of *restoring* and *firmly securing* public order, as the certain and only means of private and public happiness.

SECTION IV.

The article, which next presents itself, is that of

NAVAL STORES.

It appears to lord Sheffield, that Russia will interfere much with the American states, in the supply of these commodities. The quantities exported, agreeably to his table for 1771, and our return in 1791, appear to have been,

In 1771.	Barrels.		Barrels.	In the re-
of pitch,	9,144		8,875	turn for
tar,	82,075		85,067	13½ mo.
turpentine,	17,014	worth then	28,326	worth now
rosin,	223	156,000	316	217,945
spirits of tur-		dollars.		dollars.
pentine,	41		193	
Total,	108,497		122,777	

From this increase of value, it appears, that the United States have not suffered from the competition of Russia, or any other country; but that in this article, like most others, we experience the advantage of being *an open market*, free from the British monopoly, which existed before the revolution. In addition to this large exportation, considerable quantities have been consumed, in manufactures which have been introduced or extended since the year 1771: and a very large quantity has been purchased for the repairs and stores of

770,000 tons of vessels, of various nations, employed in the foreign trade, the coasting trade, and the fisheries, and in the building of new ships, which greatly exceed the number built on a medium of 1769 to 1771.

POT AND PEARL ASHES.

These articles, lord Sheffield ventures to affirm, can be made to greater advantage in Canada and Nova Scotia, than elsewhere in America, on account of the plenty of wood, and owing to the great quantity of fuel consumed in a long and severe winter. It is well known, that the people of this continent do not attempt to make these salts out of any of the terebinthine woods,* (though it is said to be practised in the north of Europe,) and that the growth of trees in the remaining British colonies, is principally of those kinds. Abundant proof that they have little oak, is derived from the small quantity of staves, heading, oak timber, and oak planks, which they export, and from the quantities of them, which they import from the United States. But had they the proper kinds of fuel, that would not be sufficient; for a certain degree of population is necessary to this manufacture. The number of people in the whole of the northern British colonies, is perhaps 160,000 or 180,000, while the United States have more than twenty times their number,

* The barks of hemlock, pine, fir, and larch, are said to be very productive of pot-ash.

of whom two-thirds inhabit scenes much more abundant in wood and timber than Canada and Nova-Scotia. Their custom house books will show what pot-ash those colonies export. Although our writer supposes, that the United States will yield *less than they have heretofore done*, we find, that the return of the treasury exhibited the great quantity of 8,568 tons, though the export, on the medium of 1768, 1769, and 1770, was only 2008 tons, and 5 cwt.

In treating of pot-ash, lord Sheffield takes occasion to digress to the article of coal, and observes, that to encourage the British collieries, and carrying trade, they should prevent the getting of coal on the island of Cape Breton. It was among the disadvantages, which, it was alledged, the United States would sustain by the separation from Great-Britain, that the collieries of Cape Breton were to be particularly barred against them. This, like many other evils, which were apprehended, has vanished on a recurrence to the resources of the country. The collieries on James river will not only abundantly supply the extensive territory watered by the rivers of the Chesapeake and by that bay itself; but they promise to afford a very valuable nursery for seamen in the transportation of their contents to all the sea-ports of the United States. They already furnish coal on terms much lower than the *minimum* of the first cost and charges of importation: and as labour is declining in price and a short water communication, between the mines and the shipping place, is nearly completed,

there is no doubt that foreign coal will be rendered a very losing commodity, and that it must finally be excluded from our markets. The interior country is plentifully supplied by nature with this valuable fossil.

HORSES.

Lord Sheffield treats of this article with great ingenuity. He raises expectations in the government and people of Great Britain, that the West-Indies may draw supplies of these useful animals from Canada, and considers Nova-Scotia as having greatly the advantage of Canada and the United States in her capacity for the exportation of them. It is stated as certain, that a trade in horses will be carried on by that province. The distance of Great-Britain and Ireland do not appear to restrain his sanguine hopes, that horses may be shipped to the West-Indies from those two countries. He proceeds further, and suggests the supply of the probable deficiency of horses, with mules, from Barbary, from whence they are to be obtained in abundance, (though at a high price) and from Porto Rico and the Mississippi. In short, knowing the importance of horses to the West-India planters, he takes great pains to shew, that they may relinquish, without inconvenience, the cheap and certain supplies which they formerly enjoyed, and which the French, Danes, and Dutch now enjoy by means of deep-waisted American vessels, manned by persons accustomed to the business.

There is perhaps, no article, in proportion to the value, in which the British islands suffer more deeply by the present footing of their intercourse with these states, than in that of which we are now treating. This country is particularly fitted for the raising of horses, and affords them in very increased numbers. The exportation of them in the year 1770, which was entirely to the West-India islands, was, by lord Sheffield's tables, 6,692 : and the exportation of them by the treasury return, already referred to, was 8,628, besides 237 mules. The last article has been added to the list of exports, since the year 1770, and promises to become very considerable, though mules have not a place in lord Sheffield's book among the supplies which may be derived from the United States. The British West-India islands are stated to have taken off, before the revolution, two fifths of the above number, or 2,676 horses ; but it appears by the late return that there were shipped thither, in thirteen months and a half, no more than 916 horses and mules ; from which it is manifest, that the present mode of carrying on the trade deprives them of above two-thirds of their former supply of these animals, which are admitted in the observations, to be "*essentially necessary*." The price of those they do obtain, must of course be much enhanced by an unsatisfied demand three-fold greater than the importation, and by the expense of conveying them in British ships, which being very generally in the double decked form, are dangerous for the transportation of horses on

deck, and carry them at an immense freight in the hold. Here is another very injurious instance of depressing the West-India agriculture. The case with the Dutch is very different. Their sugar colonies, though much less populous than those of Great-Britain, received in the above term, about seven hundred and sixty horses and mules. The French, as in regard to the other articles of necessary supplies, not produced by their own dominions, receive these animals, without impediment, in our vessels, and their own, indiscriminately. The precise number, which was shipped to their islands, before the revolution, is not ascertained: but, as lord Sheffield alledges, that the whole number exported to the foreign sugar colonies was, in 1770, about 4,515, some part of which the Dutch and Danes received—and as it appears by the late return, that about 7,000 horses and mules were shipped to the French sugar plantations, during its term, it is manifest, that they have increased their importations 80, 90, or 100 per cent. It is unnecessary to reiterate here, that they will receive proportionate advantages in their colonial agriculture, (and to the ships employed in transporting its produce) from so capital an addition to one of their most useful supplies.

THAT "FRANCE WILL NOT SUFFER AMERICA TO SUPPLY
HER WITH SHIPS,"

is contradicted by the fact.* That kingdom by rejecting American vessels, would have so far sacrificed her carrying trade to the manufacture of ships. She wisely purchases, upon the cheapest terms, *the cradles* for her marine nursery. The first and great object of the maritime powers ought to be, *the increase of the number of their sailors*, which is best done by multiplying their chances of employment. Among the means of doing this, one of the most obvious and rational is, *the multiplication of vessels*. The French-built ships cost from 55 to 60 dollars per ton, when fitted to receive a cargo. and exclusively of sea stores, insurance, the charges of lading, outward pilotage, and other expenses incidental to the employment, and not to the building and outfit of a vessel. The American live oak and cedar ships, to which none are superior, cost in the same situation, from 33 to 35 dollars, finished very completely. If the French require 10,000 tons of new vessels, on any occasion, or in any term of time, they may be procured in the United States, on a computation of the medium price of 34 dollars per ton, for the

* Immediately after the first publication of this paper, the French regulation, confining their flag to native ships, was received in America. What will be found under this head, which was written before the regulation was known, may serve as a sincere comment on this new restriction. A. D. 1791.

sum of 340,000 dollars. but if bought at 55 dollars, the lowest price in France, they would cost the much greater sum of 550,000 dollars. No argument is necessary to show, that such a nation, *cæteris paribus*, must produce seamen more rapidly, than those, who refuse these cheap vessels.

It would appear much less unreasonable, that the government of the United States should prohibit the sale of ships, (*the means of obtaining naval strength,*) to foreign nations, than that any of them should reject the great advantage of so cheap and excellent a supply. And should the French, British, and other foreign nations continue to decline the purchase of American-built ships, there can be no doubt, that we shall take a greater portion of *the carrying trade* for ourselves and other countries, from that cause.

THAT THE NAVIGATION ACT GAVE, AND THAT AN ADHERENCE TO IT, WILL SECURE TO GREAT-BRITAIN THE COMMERCE OF THE WORLD.

There is no doubt, that Great-Britain has heretofore obtained, in proportion to the number of its people, a very great share of trade both foreign and internal. But the value of her imports in 1774, was not ten per cent. more than that of the imports of France. Holland* had, at the same

* Mr. Eden stated, since the American war, that the exports of Holland, in foreign goods only, were 18,000,000 sterling.

time, a very great trade; as had several other countries in Europe. It would have been beyond the truth, if lord Sheffield had said that Britain had a fifth "of the commerce of the world." It may appear, at first view, of little use, and even invidious, to notice this remark; *but it is really of importance to a reasonable and accurate estimation of things, to correct such extravagancies.* These hyperbolical expressions tend to mislead. They occasion a people erroneously to suppose, they have the world at their command, and render the most salutary and reasonable arrangements more difficult than they ought to be. They also help to swell the popular torrent against a clear-sighted, honest, and candid minister, who may attempt measures, fit in themselves, and even necessary to the national interests.

But whatever may have been the degree of truth in the assertion, that Great-Britain *heretofore* engrossed the commerce of the world, a different course of things has taken place, and is to be expected hereafter, with regard to her and every other country. It is manifest, that a prodigious, and almost universal revolution in the views of nations, with regard to the carrying trade, has taken place. The extension of the spirit of commerce and the consequent inclination and capacity for naval power, have occasioned this change. The jealousy of trade, which gave birth to the British navigation act, is now felt as well by the sovereigns, as by the citizens, of every country in

Europe. They have become sensible, that commerce and navigation are at once great sources of private wealth and of national power. The general prevalence of these views is daily producing commercial regulations, (injurious in many particulars to the country making them) intended to secure to the citizens of each nation those benefits, which were formerly enjoyed by the carrying and manufacturing states. Those, who have heretofore enjoyed the trade of other countries, and in a very extensive degree, must necessarily be the first to feel the inconveniencies of this change of measures: and they must eventually experience them in proportion to their former advantages. The private shipping of the Hanse towns and of the United Netherlands, have already felt severely the consequences of these views. Those traders, indeed, might once have almost claimed the commerce of the world. There is considerable danger, however, that this anxious desire of trade may occasion some of the maritime nations to give too free and strong operation to principles, which are not exceptionable in the present state of things, if properly directed and restrained; for it is manifest, that countries with a great agricultural interest, will err exceedingly in pursuing, as far as possible, measures, which may not be found inconvenient to nations oppositely circumstanced.

With respect to Great-Britain, the particular object of her navigation act was to expel the Dutch from her carrying trade, and thus to decrease the

ability of her rivals to maintain and suddenly to increase their navy. Situated as things then were, the British were probably right, as to the object in view: *and from the wonderful insensibility of all Europe to the nature and operation of the English marine code*, they gained incidentally, and for a long time, immense advantages in the commerce of other states, for which they originally did not look. *This situation of things however is now thoroughly understood.* The shipping of Britain in consequence, will hereafter find rivals in the private vessels of several foreign countries, and there appears the utmost improbability, that she can continue to retain any extraordinary share of the carrying trade for other nations. The tenure of it is manifestly in the greatest degree precarious; because it absolutely depends on the laws of other countries, and on the improbable continuance of inattention in their commercial citizens.

The value of the carrying trade, it may also be observed, is very materially altered. Instead of being, as formerly, a profitable monopoly (if we may so speak) in the hands of two nations, it is now diffused among ten or twelve. The great advantages, too, which accrued to Britain from cheap provisions—superior and cheap ships—and low wages to seamen, are now lost. Bread and meat, from the increase of manufacturers, are imported into that island—wages have considerably advanced, if we take into the calculation the great fishing bounties—the expenses of ship-building have

increased—the French* are admitted to have obtained the pre-eminence in naval architecture, and it appears from a minute return, exhibited in Anderson's commerce, that the oak timber of Great-Britain, in forty years proceeding 1771, had decreased nine-tenths; and that it had advanced in price above 40 per cent. in the course of the nineteen antecedent years. It will not be forgotten, that the expenditure of twenty years, including a naval war, in which an unparalleled number of ships was built, has since occurred further to exhaust their stock of ship timber. Nor should it be overlooked, that vast demands were made for this article to replace the private shipping, which were lost to the British nation by the American revolution. The consumption of ship timber from 1774 to 1785, appears from the papers of the British society for naval architecture, to have been three times as great as in any equal term before.

The sudden command of seamen by means of *impressment* is too strong an operation of the executive power, too great an outrage against the rights of men, and the sacred peace of families, long to be endured in the present course of European affairs. Those prompt exertions of naval strength, by which Great-Britain has heretofore gained advantages, will be affected by an alteration in this particular, at least so far as regards unprofitable, unjust, and ambitious wars, into which all nations are occasionally led.

* See papers of the British society for naval architecture.

These remarks, it is presumed, will not be misconstrued, as of an invidious nature. *It is a season requiring a true state of things.* They are intended as dispassionate and reasonable answers to the extravagant assertions and the contemptuous menaces of the writer of the observations, whose doctrines are as pernicious to Great-Britain, as they are injurious to the United States. “*Should a quarrel take place between the American states and Great-Britain, some stout frigates,*” he affirms, *would completely command the commerce of this mighty continent.*”

It would not be improper to ask, what argument is this very intelligent writer possessed of, to prove that so great a *permanent* disparity will exist in favour of a nation, whose *exports* are now to their *expenses*, as 18 to 16, over a nation whose exports to their expenses are as 18 to 3? Why, can he inform us, should the British exports or imports, neither of which will load 650,000 tons of vessels, afford a *certain and permanent basis* for a powerful navy, if those of the United States, which will load 650,000 tons of vessels, and are steadily increasing, do not justify, under proper management, expectations equal to a few stout frigates? Such miscalculations, on the part of any foreign nation, must lead to corresponding improprieties in their deportment towards us, or they must be candidly rejected.

THAT IT MUST ALWAYS BE THE SITUATION OF THE UNITED
STATES TO COURT GREAT-BRITAIN.

To evince the fallacy of this position, nothing more is necessary than to recollect some leading circumstances in the trade of the two countries. Great Britain exports about £.18,000,000 sterling, per ann. of which 13,000,000 sterling are her own manufactures. It will not be pretended, that we, as the principle customers, are to court the venders of *these goods*.* A portion of the remaining £.5,000,000 is made up of our tobaccoes, rice, indigoes ginseng, and other productions, exported from their dominions in an unmanufactured state. Of these, it will not be supposed we can be anxious to make *importations*. The greater part of the remainder is made up of India, Russian, German, and other articles, of foreign growth or manufacture, which Britain cannot furnish but at second hand; for which, consequently, we are not under the necessity to court her, and which neither we nor any other nation should receive from her European dominions, were we to pursue her navigation principles. The re-shipped commodities of Ireland, too, form no inconsiderable item in the list of British exports. For these we could be under no obligation to Great-Britain, being manufactured goods, on the shipment of most of which to these states and all the world, the Irish have

* We must court the arts by which they are manufactured, as we have wisely done for the last five or six years.

long granted a very encouraging bounty. In regard to our exports to Great-Britain, *they consist principally of the precious elements of her manufactures, shipping, and navy.* These are not only (in the language of lord Sheffield, when speaking of the Russian exports) “more precious to her than gold,” but are absolute necessities. Lumber of all kinds, bark, cotton, flax, iron, flaxseed, wax, indigo, pot-ash, tar, pitch, turpentine, skins, and furs, are among the articles here contemplated. To these may be added wheat, flour, and Indian corn, taken in small quantities except when necessity compels large importations; also tobacco and rice, which are consumed in a small proportion in Britain, but contribute to swell her exports, and increase her carrying trade to other countries. 'Tis manifest, that all these exports are much to be desired on her part, and that it would be most profitable to the United States, *to manufacture the raw materials, and to expend the provisions on their own manufacturers;* and to furnish the rice and tobacco, *by the direct voyage,* to those nations which are supplied circuitously through British ports. In another point of view, the intercourse with Great-Britain is not particularly to be courted by the United States. It has been already observed, that we imported of their manufactures, in 1784, £.3,648,007 sterling, and in 1785 £2,308,013, which appear, on a medium of those two years, to have been equal to above one third of *the manufactures* they exported, *to all other foreign nations!* How immensely beneficial, how indispensably necessary to the British ma-

manufacturers, are such consumers? Let it be asked, and candidly answered, if they or we are to court such business? If any inviting measures are to be adopted by this country, it would be more wise to court the capitalists, manufacturers, and artisans, of the several countries of Europe, which are overcharged with private wealth and population. It may be urged, that we are strongly induced to court Great-Britain for credit. The answer is, that she cannot venture to withhold her fabrics, whatever may be our time of payment; for in the present state of things, a years absence of British goods from our markets, would give an immense spring to our own manufactures. But there is a strong symptom of the ability of the United States to do without a very extensive credit, from any particular nation, in the abundant supplies of China and East-India goods, which are imported from every part of those countries with which we trade, amounting probably, to more than a fifth of our consumption of foreign commodities. This independency on any particular nation, which is in the highest degree to be desired, will be sensibly promoted by the establishment of our good name in other foreign countries, by strengthening our new and wholesome guards around the rights of property, and by the recent multiplication and extension of banks. Though no such pecuniary institution existed ten years ago, six banks are established now in five different cities; and their capitals exceed at this time a moiety of our importations. The accommodations and facilities which will result from

them, must exceedingly promote the independency of the American merchant and consumer, on foreign credits.

THAT "IT WILL NOT BE THE INTEREST OF ANY OF THE GREAT MARITIME POWERS TO PROTECT THE AMERICAN VESSELS FROM THE BARBARY STATES."

The lust of power has seldom given rise to a less reputable sentiment in the bosom of an individual than that which we are now to notice. Like the instruction of the flagitious father to his son, to get money, it is advised, that *naval strength* should be secured, *per fas et nefas*. But it is not asserted, that any nation maintains this doctrine. It has been urged in answer against us, that we import slaves, which has in a very great degree ceased; for the vessels from Africa, in the whole returned year, were less than four hundred tons. But let the circumstances of the case be examined and candidly considered. When high duties on the importation of slaves were imposed before the revolution, by some of the colonial assemblies, they were rendered of no effect by *the negative of the crown*, upon the same principles, that now determine the conduct of many of the European shipholders and manufacturers—because the abolition of the slave trade would curtail their respective advantages. During and since the war, most of the states have prohibited those importations: several have abolished slavery: and we find as above hinted, that no more than 385

tons of shipping arrived from Africa in twelve months subsequent to August 1789, in all the states, belonging to us, and all other nations. Whether these had on board any slaves, is not known. *Great-Britain* cannot press a country, thus conducting itself, on the subject of the slave trade, seeing that her colonies continue to import tens of thousands per annum.

But it is conceived, that the reverse of lord Sheffield's position is true, and that it is the interest of most of the great maritime powers, to pursue measures, which might tend to free the Americans from the piracies of the Barbary states. It may be among the means of transferring to those nations, from Great Britain, "*a part of the sovereignty of the ocean*" and "*a part of the commerce of the world, which, it is alledged, her naval power has secured to her.*" The balance of power, if it be accurately defined, must be stated to comprehend now the balance of *naval* power. To attain and preserve that, the first step is manifestly to divest any nation, which may possess it, of "*the sovereignty of the ocean.*" That sovereignty can comport with the true interests and dignity of no other kingdom. It will be more advantageous to the several nations, who are not actually the first in the scale of naval power, that the United States should acquire a portion of the marine force of a nation, too potent by sea, than that such a nation, if it really has been the case, should continue to give law upon the ocean : and it is manifest, that no one of those nations can

be satisfied, that any other should prescribe the law there. The destruction of no particular kingdom is alledged to be requisite to the well being of this, or any other country: but it certainly is not necessary, that the other nations of the world should promote, or acquiesce in measures, calculated to support any one kingdom in a naval dictatorship. This degree of marine strength is not requisite for the self-defence of any nation; and it may evidently be perverted to interrupt the commerce and to disturb the tranquility of Europe. Whether this has been the case, (concerning which no assertion is here made) it remains for the nations concerned severally to determine. If it has been, if it may be, and if it probably will be, then it also remains for them to decide, whether it be their true interest to join in the *honourable* league with the Barbarians against the honest commerce, and the personal liberties of the citizens of the United States.

THAT "THE BRITISH ISLANDS WOULD BE CROUDED WITH DUTCH, FRENCH, AND OTHER FOREIGN VESSELS, IF THEY WERE TO BE LAID OPEN."

A direct contradiction cannot be given to this assertion: but probabilities are strongly against it. The free ports of the French islands are thus laid open; yet the whole tonnage, which usally passes between them and the United States, in the course of a year, exclusively of their own ships, those of the United States, and those of Great-Britain, do not exceed two per cent. of the whole tonnage employed in the trade; and though the British vessels

have an equal opportunity with the ships of France and of these states, yet they carried but eight small cargoes to all the French islands, during the returned year. From the nature of the West-India trade, and of the commodities transported, it cannot be supported, unless the vessels be owned by the inhabitants of the islands, or those of this country. Similar facts occur, in examining the trade with the Dutch ports in the West-Indies, and on the main; and the same observations, it is conceived, would justly apply to them. But what could those foreign vessels carry to the English islands? By the other British regulations, they could transport no *American* articles, and they cannot ship from their own dominions, with a chance of profit, a cargo of the commodities, which are permitted to be imported from foreign countries, into the British West-Indies.

SECTION V.

THE next errors in the observations of lord Sheffield, on which it is necessary to animadvert, are some which are not inconsiderable, with respect to the actual and probable

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

He is of opinion that our population is not likely to increase as it has done on our coasts; that we had fallen off in numbers in 1784; and that the emigration from the United States would be very considerable. The state of Rhode-Island, all of

which lies near the sea, was proved by actual enumeration, in 1783, to contain 51,896 persons. The unhappy condition of that government, and the consequent interruption of its trade, fisheries, and manufactures, from 1786 to the beginning of 1790, occasioned great emigrations from thence into the other states. Yet the census, which was completed before the first day of May, in the present year, amounts to 68,825. Delaware, which, like Rhode-Island, has no back country, and lies upon the coast, was estimated at 35,000 persons, in a return, which lord Sheffield affirmed in 1783, to be too high. Its population is proved, by the actual enumeration just completed, to be 59,094. Connecticut, another state upon the coast, was computed in the same return, which he mentions in 1784, to contain 206,000 persons. It is well known, that its population, in proportion to its territory, was then, and is now, the greatest in the union, and that it has been incessantly sending emigrants to Maine, New-Hampshire, Vermont, New-York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the western territory: yet the census shows it to contain, at this time, 237,942 inhabitants. New-Jersey, another state without new or unsettled lands, is rated in the return, which lord Sheffield questions, at 150,000, and was proved by an enumeration, which was taken at the moment he hazarded this doubt, to contain 149,435 persons. The census shows its present population to be 184,139. It has no unimproved counties or new lands. New-York was stated at 200,000, and now appears to be

340,120. Pennsylvania, which was said to be estimated too high, in 1784, at 320,000, amounts to 434,373. Massachusetts, including the district of Maine, is set down in the disputed estimation, at 350,000, in 1784: the census in 1790, proves to be 475,327. New-Hampshire, which is found to contain 141,885, was considered as having no more than 82,200. Maryland, which was estimated 220,000, and which has not one county that does not lie on a navigable river, flowing into the Atlantic ocean, appears by the census to have 318,729. Virginia, *including* Kentucky, was stated in the old return to have 400,000, and is found to contain 747,610, after the separation of Kentucky, whose population is 73,677 more: and here it is to be remarked, that the state of Massachusetts, though thickly settled, has manifestly gained people in the last nine years, more rapidly than Kentucky, supposing the latter to have had 10,000 inhabitants or upwards, in 1782; and the part of Virginia, not including Kentucky, has gained inhabitants much more rapidly than that western district. These two facts are mentioned to prove the error of lord Sheffield's prediction that our population was not likely to increase, as it has done, "on the sea coast." North-Carolina, which was stated at only 200,000, is proved to contain 393,751, exclusively of the western country ceded to congress by that state in the last year, the population of which is found to be about 35,691 more. The population of Vermont is above 85,000. That of South Carolina which was stat-

ed at 170,000 proves to be 249,073. The population of the western territory is not yet ascertained.

The whole return above referred to, is alledged, by our author, to be too high. Its total is 2,389,300, and it was made the basis of congressional assessments. The best accounts, as lord Sheffield affirms, made the number of whites 1,700,000. There seems, however, from the returns already received, to be no doubt, that our numbers will prove more than 3,900,000, by the census taken from August, 1790, to April, 1791, inclusive. The population of the United States has therefore advanced 65 *per centum* on a return in 1782, which lord Sheffield affirmed, in 1784, to be *exaggerated*.*

The simplicity of living amongst *the great body* of the American people—the extraordinary facility of obtaining the means of subsistence—migration to our country—and the non-existence of emigrations from it, though Nova-Scotia is so near, and as lord Sheffield says, so tempting—these circumstances have occasioned the United States thus rapidly to increase in population, in the last nine years, though seven of them were extremely disordered and discouraging. But now, when agriculture is greatly improved, when laws, religion, morals, liberal and useful science, arts, manufactures, and commerce, are maintained, promoted and extended—lord Sheffield himself will believe, that our population will encrease even on the sea coast.

* See the census of 1791 in this volume.

Let foreigners, who sincerely desire information, take up the Philadelphia directory, published by the marshal of the United States for the district of Pennsylvania, and learn by this simple but authentic document, the ingredients of which our towns are composed, even in a state whose territory is not one fourth settled. It will there be seen, that while our planters' and farmers' sons are subdividing their lands, or moving forward into less populated scenes, many of the sons of our artificers and manufacturers, and very many persons of those occupations, from foreign countries, are taking their stations on the vacant lots in our old streets, or commencing new ones. *The sober and industrious journeymen of Europe, who can scarcely support the difficulties and expenses of living there, often become successful master workmen here.* It may be safely affirmed, that the Scotch combine the advantages of sobriety, industry, frugality, and skill, in as great a degree as any manufacturers in Europe; yet they incessantly emigrate to us, and are remarkably successful in their various branches.

EMIGRATION.

Great pains are taken by the writer of the observations, to place the emigrants to America in the most discouraging circumstances of distress and contempt. "Emigration," says he, "is the natural resource of the culprit." Those, who are acquainted with the history of Europe, since the beginning of the seventeenth century, and of the colonies settled

from thence, know, that the emigrants hither have been, generally speaking, *the enterprising*, and their followers, or *the oppressed subjects of unjust civil or religious rulers*—the latter in the greatest degree. There is not a state in the union which does not contain one or more sects or churches, which have fled from religious persecution. Nothing can be more rational, than that persons of *sincere piety and tender consciences*, should seek a country, in which the assertion of *mere toleration* is deemed as absurd, as the denial of *religious liberty* is thought to be criminal. Hence Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Quakers, Baptists, and others, have fled hither from England; Seceders and Episcopalians from Scotland; Catholics and Presbyterians from Ireland; Hugunots from France; Protestants from the dominions of the Catholic princes of Germany; and Catholics from those of the Protestant princes. Two centuries have not elapsed, since all the dominions of the United States were an howling wilderness. They now contain near four millions of people. From whence have they been derived? In great numbers from various parts of Europe, by incessant streams of emigration. But it may be asked, are these people happy and prosperous? Does the soil they cultivate, yield them any return for their labour? They procure for themselves comfortable habitations, food, raiment, and other conveniencies, and have exported in a single year, above twenty millions of

dollars in value!* How then can these people have been "miserably disappointed in their expectations of prosperity here?"

But lord Sheffield assures all emigrants, that they will be distressed, nay, ruined, by taxes; and that our public burdens are heavier than those of any country in Europe. It appears, however, that we are now in the middle of the third year of our general government, and notwithstanding all our late arrearages, and the funding of our debts, neither a tax on lands, nor any species of direct tax, is contemplated. No excise upon any article of consumption or use is laid or proposed, except a very small one on spirituous liquors, compared with those in Europe. Besides this, the impost, or duty on foreign goods imported is the sole revenue, that is raised upon the people, and it is, on a medium, less in *currency*, than the same articles pay in *sterling*, in all the principal countries of Europe. Where, then, are these insupportable burdens with which this writer attempts to alarm European emigrants?

Under the head of emigration, lord Sheffield has laid himself open to a more severe measure of just remark, than it is agreeable to deal out to him. It ought not, however, to be unnoticed,

* The exportations of the year ending on the 30th September, 1792, exceeded 21 millions of dollars. Those of the year following were 26,000,000.

that he gravely brings forward a story, on the authority of a nameless letter from Philadelphia, of "two fine Irish youths being purchased by a negro fruit seller, in that city, and employed in hawking fruit about the streets, and in the meanest employments." How dangerous must be the situation of a government, which has acted upon the information and reasonings brought forward by a mind capable of using such means to carry his points, admitting the letter were genuine! How unlike a dignified statesman does lord Sheffield appear, in exclaiming, after this very little story, "*Irishmen just emancipated in Europe, go to America to become slaves to a negro!*" and what will be thought when it is known, that in the legislature of the very state (Pennsylvania) in whose capital he alleges the fact took place, there were, about the time of his publication, no less than twenty-eight Irishmen and sons of Irishmen, though the whole body consisted of but sixty-nine members? We are willing that the fortunes of the Irish in this country should determine the expediency of their continuing to emigrate hither. As some pains have been taken by him to excite the apprehensions of the Germans also, it may not be improper to observe that there have generally been from fifteen to eighteen members of the same legislative body, who were natives of Germany or their sons.

KENTUCKY AND THE WESTERN TERRITORY.

It was boldly asserted by lord Sheffield, in 1784, that the people of the interior country of America, were "mere nominal subjects," and would speedily imitate and multiply the examples of independence. The regular organization of the government of the territory north-west of the Ohio since that time, the arrangements made shortly after, for the erection of Kentucky into a separate state, with the consent of Congress and Virginia, the cession of the extensive country south of the Ohio to Congress in 1790, and its establishment as a kind of temporary fief of the general government (with civil officers appointed by the President) to be admitted into the union as an entire new member, when its population should be sufficiently numerous, the adoption of the federal constitution by a deliberate act of a special convention of Vermont, and the formal admissions of that state and Kentucky into the American union, at their own desire, and by an act of the legislature of the United States, have, as far as possible, contradicted the prophecy.

Another opinion, in regard to those distant scenes, is, that they can derive no benefit from the American states. At this moment, the arm of government is extended, and its funds are appropriated, to protect them against the hostilities of the Indians: and the whole regular military force,

which it has been thought necessary to support, was raised, and is now employed in their defence. The Atlantic rivers, from the Mississippi to the Mohawk, which nature has formed as the channels of their trade, can be cleared of natural and political obstructions only by the measures of the Atlantic states; and no less than eight several plans to that end are now in preparation or execution in as many different places, under the auspices of the five states, within whose territories the most favourable rivers and grounds have been placed by nature.* Congress alone can effect the relinquishment of the posts, *the keys of the western country*. The improvement and opening of the many necessary roads, leading westward, must be done by the acts of the Atlantic states, and by their funds. Not a year elapses without several appropriations of money to this object. *By a sincere, just, and close union between the inhabitants of the western country and those upon the sea coasts, both parties will avoid those expensive, bloody, and frequent struggles, which every where disgrace and injure adjacent states.*

THAT NO AMERICAN ARTICLES ARE SO NECESSARY TO GREAT-BRITAIN, AS THE BRITISH MANUFACTURES, &c. ARE TO THE AMERICANS.

Lord Sheffield has already admitted, that raw materials are more precious to Britain than gold: but

* A great and expensive turnpike road has been commenced by Pennsylvania, leading directly westward towards Pittsburg on the Ohio and Allegany. A. D. 1793.

this was not conceded to America. Those things, which are inestimable, when they are to be drawn from countries, other than the United States, lose all their value in his estimation, when to be derived from us. The British manufacturers however well know, that American raw materials (like those of Russia, the Indies and Ireland) are precious, indeed, to them, because, in addition to their natural value, and their indispensable need of them, when once landed in Britain, they cannot be manufactured in America. Timber, plank, boards, masts, tar, pitch, turpentine, and pig iron for the support of their navy and shipping—indigo, potash, furs, skins, flaxseed, iron, tobacco, slaves, fine oil, &c. for the employment of their manufacturers—rice, wheat, and flour for their subsistence—and a large catalogue of the most necessary supplies for the West-India islands, which really cannot be obtained elsewhere, without an insupportable addition to their cost, will not be deemed at this time, by a rational and well informed man, of less importance to Great-Britain, than the manufactures of that country, which they are assiduously endeavouring to disperse through every quarter of the world, are to us*.

But it is not intended to waste arguments on this allegation. Every man of information, in the affairs of the two countries, is able to decide on it

* Witness the special embassy to the Chinese antipodes of Great-Britain.

at first view. Little more appears necessary than to remind the parties concerned, that such an assertion is among the positions, which lord Sheffield has hazarded, in order that the misleading tendency of his book may be duly borne in mind by the sincere friends of mutually beneficial arrangements. It may not, however, be amiss to observe, that although the favourable ideas which have been suggested here by way of answer, were justified by facts and reason, when that work was published, yet the American ground is not a little meliorated by the subsequent progress and present state of our manufactures—by the experienced inability of Canada, New-Brunswick, and Nova-Scotia, to furnish the expected supplies—by the consequent importations from the United States of timber and lumber into Great-Britain, and of more than the former supplies into the West-Indies—and by the necessary dependence of Europe on the United States for the precious articles of grain and flour, which has been recently ascertained and admitted by unquestionable English authorities.

THE QUALITY OF AMERICAN DISTILLED SPIRITS.

It is not surprising, that remarks on the bad quality of American spirituous liquors should run through “the observations.” But the business of distilling is so simple, that great improvements might have been expected since 1783. Genève, in imitation of that of Holland, is now made in some of our sea ports: the rectifying of the or-

dinary rums is practised by a few with great success.* Peach brandy is made in considerable quantities, and, when matured, is the most exquisite spirit in the world. Should our rice decline in price, it is not doubted, that the manufacture of arrack will be attempted. The ingredients, from which this spirit is made, have till lately been unascertained in the United States: but it is now believed, that rice, and coarse sugar, or melasses, are really the articles. When the success of the Americans in the manufacture of malt liquors is remembered, it will not be doubted, that they will have equal success in that of distilled spirits. A principal impediment has hitherto been the free and copious influx of rival foreign liquors, and the general reception of flour, &c. in foreign ports. Every obstruction to our vessels and sales abroad, imposed by the European nations, impels to breweries, distilleries, and manufactures in general, amongst other modes of creating a demand for our productions, and employment for our capitals.

“IF THE AMERICAN STATES SHOULD ATTEMPT TO PAY THEIR DEBTS, THE LANDS OF THE FARMERS MUST FOR SOMETIME LIE UNDER VERY HEAVY IMPOSITIONS.”

This is among the many proofs, which our writer has given, that he did not possess the gift of prophecy. The American debt has been consider-

* This branch is very much improved within the last two years, particularly by the Providence and Rhode-Island distilleries—
A. D. 1793.

ably reduced by the sale of state and federal lands, and a provision is made for funding it. A sinking fund has also been provided. Yet *no* tax upon lands has been introduced among the ways and means. The whole American debt would not require a tax upon each individual, of four pounds sterling, *to extinguish it forever*. That of Great-Britain would require a tax of more than twenty-four pounds ten shillings sterling. Our population is rapidly increasing, while theirs is comparatively stationary. There is a similar disproportion in our favour in the ordinary and extraordinary expenses of government and defence. The French debt is 250 per cent. heavier than ours, in proportion to numbers. *This brief, but very important article will not fail to receive due attention from those who sincerely desire to make a just estimate of the affairs of the United States*; nor will it escape the observations of those foreigners, who may be engaged in researches into our affairs, or in plans of emigration, settlement, and landed purchases in this country. It will also be a source of the most comfortable reflections to our own citizens. The people of Europe, who have read lord Sheffield's book, will be surprised to hear that there are no perpetual revenues, no stamp duties, no window or hearth taxes, no tythes, no excises upon leather, beer, hops, malt, soap, candles, coal or other fuel, or indeed on any other article in the United States, excepting only about five pence sterling on distilled spirits.

“ THAT THE AMERICANS COULD NOT HAVE TRADED WITH THE FRENCH BEFORE THE REVOLUTION TO HALF THE EXTENT THEY DID, HAD IT NOT BEEN FOR THE SPECIE THEY TOOK FROM THE BRITISH ISLANDS.”

This remark is applied by the writer to our French West-India trade. To judge of the truth of it, a comparison of the present with the former state of that branch of our commerce will be sufficient. It will not be doubted, that during their troubles, and (to take a recent term) for a year preceding the first day of May last, our imports and exports from and to the French West-Indies, were greater than in any year before the war. Yet our vessels could not procure specie in the British islands, being prohibited from entering them. Pickled and dried fish, beef, rice, Indian corn, oats, beans, peas, onions, Indian meal, boards, plank, scantling, shingles, handspikes, oars, square timber, staves, heading, hoops, horses, live stock, poultry, boats, and vessels, &c. to an amount greater than the shipments to all the West India islands, other than British, before the war, have been exported to the French islands within the term of one year. The course of things, in several respects, will probably lessen our importation of melasses and the taffia, (or rum) which we have been accustomed to draw from thence. Besides beer and cider, distilled spirits are now made from fruit and grain, in such quantities as to constitute more than one-third of our consumption and export of strong liquors, other

than wines. Plentiful harvests of fruit necessarily increase the manufacture from that ingredient; because it is too perishable to export. Abundant harvests of grain, or low markets abroad, have a similar effect on distillation from that material. The measures of the national assembly of France, in regard to tobacco, will add to the many objections which before existed against the usual cultivation of it. Barley, rye, and oats, from which the grain-liquors are principally made, as also wheat and Indian corn, will be produced in much larger quantities, should we decline the cultivation of tobacco in any considerable degree. If we continue, after a short time, to import choice rums, brandies, and arrack, to the amount of five per cent. on our whole consumption, and manufacture the remainder, which will require four millions of bushels of barley, rye and oats, and more so far as we make beer, we shall want less funds abroad for the purchase of molasses, and we shall confirm the ability we have shown, to carry on a trade with the French islands, greater than formerly, *without specie taken from the British West-Indies.*

“ THAT THE UNITED STATES LOST MUCH BY THE SEPARATION FROM GREAT-BRITAIN.”

This is an opinion, which it was very natural for an English writer in 1783 to adopt. It was difficult at that time to compare, with the requisite certainty and precision, the benefits in point of pecuniary advantage, which the United States

might have reasonably expected in a colonial, and in an independent situation. It would be more easily and better done at the present, but cannot be attempted at large in this place. Some ideas on the subject, however, may serve to evince the error of the assertion.

It is true, that by the separation of the two countries, the United States incurred a debt of about £. 15,000,000 sterling, which, however, was entirely spent in the country, as was a great part of the French and *British* expenditures. Great-Britain increased her public debt, in the same time, £. 115,000,000. The whole burden on both sides appears then to be about £. 130,000,000 sterling. There is the strongest probability, from the rapidity of the increase of the British debt, which, in less than a century, grew up from *nothing* to £. 270,000,000, and which is in the present year swelling to a larger size, that, without the American war, the British nation would have been burdened on this day, with at least two hundred millions. Considering the rate in which the objects of taxation or means of revenue have increased in this country, there is reason to believe, that by this time we should have been thought able to endure a proportion of the ways and means requisite to support that debt, equal to our numbers; this would have been above one-fourth of the whole, or *fifty millions sterling*, and is three and one-third times our present debt. It may be said, we paid no such contribution; and the assertion, by refer-

ence to the former public accounts, would appear on paper to be true: but we were injuriously restrained, in regard to the sources of our supplies, and the vents of our produce and manufactures; we were prohibited from the labour-saving modes of manufacturing; and it is too plain that the prohibitions would have been continued. The impost went into the British treasury; our lands were subject to quit-rents, which, belonging to the crown, have either fallen to the present government, or have been entirely abolished. The effects of the commercial monopoly were prodigious. It may be strikingly exemplified in the single article of tea. We have already seen that we imported above three millions of pounds in the year following August 1789. The medium price of fine and coarse teas was above one third of a dollar more favourable to us in 1790, than in 1774; by which a difference of a million of dollars, and the whole impost on the article, are saved to the country.

The facility of naturalization under our present laws, is very much in favour of the introduction of people, and of arts, manufactures, and capital from foreign countries. Lands may be held in almost every state, and his occupation or trade may be pursued, immediately on the arrival of an emigrant. A term much shorter than that prescribed by the British statute before the revolution, entitles him to all the benefits of citizenship. It is impossible to estimate the value of this circumstance to a country so well calculated to induce emigration, to sup-

port an increased population, and to employ capital and artificers, as the United States.

Lord Sheffield observes, that the British establishment in this country gave it an advantage of £.370,000 sterling per annum. He should not have omitted to mention, that great part of this sum was expended on the Floridas, Canada, and Nova Scotia: and it is to be observed, that many of the articles were imported, and not of our production or manufacture. The mere consumption of British and Irish goods by the British and Irish officers, soldiers, and sailors, stationed or employed here, could not benefit the people of America. It is past a doubt, that the sales of the lands alone, which have fallen to the states and to the general government, have yielded annually a larger sum by the purchases of citizens and foreigners. The customs and quit-rents must also have been a full reimbursement. But it is unnecessary to dwell longer on this article; for what ever may have been the former opinions of many in the two countries concerning it, the subject is at this time so illumined, and prejudice and misconception are so completely done away, that no persons of judgment and information now believe, "*the United States have lost by the separation from Great-Britain.*" It is, however, true that the American states were in a train of prosperity before the revolution, which promised greater wealth and happiness than appeared to await the people of any other country. Lord Sheffield might reasonably estimate

their prospects very highly. To insure the expected prosperity, however, it was deemed theoretically right, that the provincial "parliaments" (the executive head of the empire by himself or a representative and the legislative houses of each) should enact *all* laws. Though some concessions to what was considered as "*the necessity of the case*," were frankly made, limiting the practical extension of this sound theory, yet it is plain, that unless it could have been substantially adhered to, in the administration of the American governments, no reliance could have been placed on the continuance of that degree of prosperity, which existed, nor on the attainment of that height, which circumstances otherwise promised. The wonderful advancement of Great-Britain in almost every particular, except her finances, during the present century, and the comparatively small progress of Ireland in the same term, afford a striking example of what might have happened to this country, and furnish the best reasons to believe, that the United States (as to mere emolument) have gained prodigiously by commuting for the great influence and undefined power of two legislative bodies, *actually* rival and then *essentially* foreign, the advantages of governing themselves in all respects, according to the prudent dictates of their own interests. As to the more important article, of a *genuine free constitution*, unexaggerated by political enthusiasm, and unvitiated by any alloying ingredients, America may with modesty affirm, that she is nearer to that *primary object of human desire*, than she would have been in the possession of the

most favourable ground, which her best friends in Britain ever proposed for her before the separation

S E C T I O N VI.

I T was intimated, in a preceding part of these papers, that the United States have not sustained any loss in the important article of ship-building, which it is proposed now to show, in treating of

“ SHIPS BUILT FOR ORDINARY COMMERCE AND FOR SALE.”

This branch was of considerable value to the United States before the revolution. Its importance appears greater now, whether it be viewed with regard to the increased quantity (for there appears good reason to think it considerably increased) or with respect to the enhanced value of merchant ships to an independent and maritime country. The quantity built in these states, on the average of 1769, 1770, and 1771, which are the latest years in lord Sheffield's tables, was 21,726 tons. An account equally minute, for any recent term, has not been obtained; but it is known, that in fifty-three custom-house districts (and there are fifteen more,) 29,606 tons of shipping were built between the fourth day of March 1790, and the fourth day of March 1791. This is believed to be, in many instances, the tonnage paid for to the carpenters; and, in those cases, is less than the vessels really measure; as they are a body of workmen, who generally deal liberally. The remaining fifteen

districts will not be found to have built in proportion to the fifty three, whose actual present building is stated ; but the quantity already known, is considerably beyond the medium of lord Sheffield's tables, for 1769 to 1771, above mentioned. In the case of New-York, the whole is known, and is two hundred and thirty-eight tons more than the former tables. In New-Jersey, the building in some districts is unknown, and the difference is two hundred and eighty-eight tons in favour of the late return. In Connecticut, the whole of the building is stated, and it is five hundred and thirty-four tons in favour of the latter term. In Pennsylvania and Delaware, the whole is also known : and the late return exceeds the former by 3,900 tons. In North-Carolina, a return of three districts (out of five) only is obtained ; and it exceeds the former average by 925 tons. In the state of Rhode-Island, the whole is ascertained, and it exceeds the former average by about 100 tons. The port of Baltimore alone, in Maryland, exceeds all the ship-building of that state, in the greatest of the three years, by near 100 per cent. The vessels built in Connecticut, in the returned year, are 40 per cent. more than the medium of lord Sheffield's tables ; and Massachusetts exceeds the former medium by 3,713 tons*.

It is true, however, that this business in one of the principal building states, has fallen off ; but

* The general increase since is very considerable. A. D. 1793,

there many of the vessels intended for sale, were usually built; and it is admitted by lord Sheffield; that those were our worst vessels. It is very material to the United States, and entitles us to a larger credit in an accurate estimation of things, that much more of our naval military stores, cordage, twine, nails and spikes, sail cloth, plumbers' work, rosin, spirits of turpentine, linseed oil, paints, brass and copper work, and other less important articles expended in building and arming ships, are of the produce and manufacture of the country, than was the case in 1771. It is also an important truth, that much greater numbers of foreign vessels are repaired, altered, supplied with cordage and sail cloth, painted and otherwise wrought upon by our various workmen, the money for which, may be fairly carried to the account of this branch.

At the time when lord Sheffield wrote, it was not known how much the oak of Great-Britain had decreased. We have already noticed this point; and it may be further remarked, that it cannot but decrease yet more, as the supplies of *oak* from the Baltic, are often intercepted by the competition of Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, Russia, Portugal, Holland, Spain and France, all but the first of which vigorously maintain their naval power; and Prussia has become very considerable in private ships. Lord Sheffield thinks that the cheapness of American shipping arose from their being ill-found and deficient in iron. There is little doubt that the extreme cheapness of those built for sale, was oc-

caſioned partly by the cauſe he mentions : but the beſt double-deck or galley-built ſhips, with live-oak lower timbers, and red-cedar top-timbers, with white-oak plank on their bottoms, and either that timber or yellow pine for their top-fides, can be built and fitted for taking in a cargo, at thirty-four dollars, or £.7 13s. ſterling per ton ; and as good a veſſel cannot be procured in Great Britain, France or Holland, under fifty-five to ſixty dollars.*

As the building of coaſting and fiſhing veſſels, boats in new forms for our improving inland navigation, veſſels on various conſtructions for public ſervice, and for a very diverſified foreign trade, will not only keep the art of ſhip-building at its preſent height, but will advance it in all reſpects, it appears to be very doubtful, whether we ſhould anxiously deſire to ſupply foreigners with ſuch cheap means of rivalling us in the carrying trade and fiſheries. Our

* The papers of the Britiſh ſociety for naval architecture ſhew, that ſhips fit for the Eaſt-India ſervice are advanced in their coſt, ſince 1771, forty ſhillings ſterling, nearly equal to nine dollars, per ton.—that timber is conſiderably diminiſhed in quantity, and enhanced in value, in the laſt twenty years—that the body of working ſhipwrights, in 1789, were much inferior to thoſe of twenty years back—and that the late acts of parliament reſpecting registers of ſhips and other regulations intended to increaſe Britiſh ſhip-building, had not operated in their favour. Profitable employment for *very expenſive and numerous* ſhips cannot be created and extended by a mere legiſlative *ſtat.* Beyond a certain degree it cannot be obtained unleſs the reſt of the world neglect thoſe means which Great-Britain purſues to increaſe and maintain her navigation, foreign trade, and manufactures.

ship and boat yards are not confined to a spot, but indeed are more diffused than formerly. There is no state whose citizens do not pursue the business, and it is commenced upon the western waters. Before the revolution, above half our vessels were paid for by a barter of credit goods for the labour and skill of the artificer; instead of which he now generally receives weekly payments in solid coin.

“ THAT THE IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE FOR A LONG TIME THE SAME.”

This will be found on examination very erroneous. Pot and pearl ashes are shipped in an increased ratio of nineteen to four. The American merchants were once great exporters of iron, hemp, raw hides, and other articles, which they now import in large quantities. The importations of coarse linens, paper, hats, shoes, steel, nails, carriages, malt liquors, and many other articles are considerably reduced. Should impediments be thrown in the way of our fisheries, shipping and foreign commerce, there can be no doubt that policy, interest and feeling will prompt us to pursue with decision and ardour the object of *manufactures*, which will give employment to our own capital, and that, which we may derive from foreigners. It must be manifest, for example, that if we are to receive rum in foreign bottoms, and to be refused the transportation of flour and grain, which are wanted from us in return, we shall not long continue to use foreign spirits. Our brewers already supply us

with more beer than we consume. No more than 70,000 gallons and 17,500 dozen bottles have been imported in an entire year, ending in August 1790, three times which quantity is made with ease, by a single brewery, on a very moderate scale. This branch has increased and flourished in the last two years, and an exportation greater than the importation above stated, has certainly taken place. The home-made distilled spirits are already more than twice as great in quantity, as the spirits imported. If our tobacco ships are excluded from France, they will not bring us brandies; and the grain, that will be raised on our tobacco lands, will yield spirituous and malt liquors to enable us to relinquish foreign brandy. Should a considerable part of our capital be forced out of navigation and foreign trade, the government, without imposing *generally* heavy protecting duties, burdensome to the nation, may give employment for the money, by holding out effectual encouragement to *one branch of manufactures at a time*. If it be selected with judgment—if the use of manual labour be confined within as narrow limits as possible—if labour-saving machines be used—if the raw articles it works on, be made free of impost duty—if the growth of them be encouraged at home—if a convenient progressive duty be imposed, there can be little doubt of success. The example of a well-arranged and fortunate attempt once set, others will naturally follow; and nations, some of whose politicians now grudgingly perceive them to take from us the food they are unable to raise, and who treat as a favour the recep-

tion of our precious raw materials, may discover, when it will be too late, the evils induced by an over-driven spirit of monopoly *.

“ THE CAPACITY OF THE UNITED STATES TO SUPPLY EUROPE WITH GRAIN AND FLOUR.”

A recent publication of lord Sheffield's, upon the subject of the British corn trade, has lately appeared in this country. As in “ the observations on our commerce,” so in this pamphlet, he endeavours to show fallacy in all such ideas as favour the importance of the United States to Great-Britain. As this examination has been necessarily made with

* After a very careful estimate of a number of the principal branches of American manufacture, the writer of this paper does not hesitate to affirm, that the shoes and boots, saddlery and other articles of leather, gunpowder, snuff, paper and paper hangings, playing cards, pasteboards, books, linen, cotton, and woollen cloths, hosiery, thread, hats, wool and cotton cards, set work and watches, manufactures of gold, silver, iron, steel, brass, lead, pewter, and copper, cordage, twine, sail-cloth, carriages of all kinds, malt liquors, new ships and boats, leathern gloves and breeches, parchment, glue, cabinet wares, linseed oil, soap, candles, potash, distilled spirits, drugs and chemical preparations, and earthen ware, made in the year last past, exceed in value the manufactured goods, which Great-Britain shipped in the same term, to all foreign nations, but the United States. It will be proper to observe in this place, that chocolate, cheese, wafers, starch, hair powder, ivory and horn wares, whips, millenary, stays, windfor chairs, corn fans, wheelbarrows, spirits of turpentine, paints, brushes, glass wares, bricks, stone and marble wares, *repairs* of vessels, mustard, loaf sugar, salt, the great article of *making up* apparel, coopers' wares, and other things of the nature of manufactures, were not included in the estimate above mentioned.

little adherence to form or order, and as *the production and commerce of grain*, constitute, without any exception, the most valuable and most commanding of our advantages, it will not be improper, to take some notice of this new attempt of his lordship's, to disseminate erroneous information and opinions on American affairs.

According to the latest of his tables, the American *provinces*, in 1770, exported but 46,000 tons of bread, flour, and meal, 578,349 bushels of Indian corn, 24,859 bushels of oats, and 851,240 bushels of wheat: and he desires it to be believed, that the United States will not be able, in this particular, to exceed their exportations before the revolution. The return of exports*, so often mentioned, contains the following articles.—

724,623 barrels of flour,]	
75,667 do.	of bread,	} weighing 77,000 tons.
99,975 do.	of meal,	
1,124,458 bushels of wheat,		
21,765 do.	of rye,---	(of which article none was exported in 1770.)
2,102,137 do.	of Indian corn.	
98,842 do.	of oats,	
7,562 do.	of buckwheat,	(of which also none was exported in 1770.)
38,752 do.	of peas and beans,	(of which also none was exported in 1770.)

* See the return of exports ending 30th September, 1792. Also that ending 30th September, 1793.

It appears, then, that on comparing the acknowledged exports of bread and flour, in 1770, with those of the present time, a difference of 50 per cent. is shown in favour of our agriculture, and that we ship near four times the quantity of Indian corn, and one-third more of wheat, besides the new articles of beans, peas, buck-wheat and rye. The tobacco, exported in the above term, was at the rate of 36 per cent. per annum more than before the revolution, besides the difference in the quantity now manufactured. Many circumstances are combining to turn the attention of the planters of this article in the grain states, towards wheat, barley, oats, and Indian corn. This is not a new idea in American farming; for although wheat was much lower before the revolution than it now is, the cultivation of tobacco in Virginia and Maryland, was actually declining. The more southern states had not then attempted the production of this article to any considerable extent. The lands, which produced the above extra quantity of tobacco, would have yielded 800,000 bushels of wheat; the labour would have produced more; and supposing that half the soil and industry, which were applied to tobacco in 1789, should be appropriated to grain, an addition of 1,400,000 bushels might be made to our productions of that article. To supply the tobacco, some of the rich lands of the more southern states might be employed in its cultivation. But lord Sheffield tells the people of Britain with great gravity, that *only* the western parts of Connecticut, and the states of New-York,

New-Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, are capable of yielding wheat. He should have added, that those states contain twice as much land as the kingdoms of Great-Britain and Ireland, those islands being computed at less than 100,000 square miles by their own geographers. The states of New-Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland, together with three-fifths of Pennsylvania, three-fifths of New-York, and about one half of Virginia, all which lie sufficiently near to *naturally* navigable water, to raise grain for exportation, contain above 130,000 square miles. Kentucky, North-Carolina, and the western parts of South-Carolina and Georgia, and Vermont, will also add considerably to our exports of grain, when mills, canals, &c. shall encourage the growth and facilitate the transportation. But the state of population is the point to which candour and judgment ought to have led a political economist to advert. He should have reflected, that the United States, whose territory is about 1,000,000 of square miles, are not yet cultivated and inhabited, by more than 4,000,000 people*; that Great-Britain and Ireland, with about a tenth of the land (or 100,000 square miles) have twice the agricultural population; and that the productive powers of this country, (which appears to have doubled its people in 25 years, though injured by eight years of a destructive war,) are *a mean of human sustenance*, to which the more prudent

* The actual number of the inhabitants of the United States appears to be from 3,900,000 to 4,000,000. See appendix, paper A. A. D. 1791.

nations of Europe will, and to which all, in the time of need, must have recourse. If their governments prevent it, many of their manufacturers and mechanics at least must flee from them. The supreme law of necessity will have its due operation, and people, whose means are rendered, by injudicious regulations, unequal to their wants will certainly resort to those scenes where cheaper food and better wages insure them relief.

It is manifest that the great increase of our population has been attended with a very considerable addition to our exports of eatables. The statement made in the beginning of the observations, on this article, is a proof of it. Besides this, our shipments of beef and pork,* are above two and a half times greater than in 1770, of butter four times, of cheese two and a half times, of potatoes four times, and of rice nearly as great. Add to this, that we have almost put an end to the importation of malt liquors, (a manufacture from grain,) and that we ship as much of them as we import—that we have diminished our importation of distilled spirits, by 1,000,000 of gallons, since we lost the importation of British rum in our own vessels (though our population is more numerous by 1,500,000 of persons) which has occasioned the distillation of grain liquors to the amount probably of 4,000,000 of gallons, requiring near 2,000,000 bushels of grain, as the raw materials.

* They were five times as great in 1792

Our continuing to export so large quantities of grain and flour, notwithstanding this great consumption of rye, barley, oats, and even wheat in distilling and brewing, is a strong proof of our raising much more than in former times. But it is not to be forgotten, that considerable quantities are consumed by our *manufacturers*, who are rapidly increasing. It is extremely difficult to ascertain the proportion in which these valuable citizens contribute to the population of our towns. Their numbers in the city of Philadelphia may assist to furnish some ground for a reasonable estimate. The silversmiths, brewers, distillers, ship-carpenters, cabinet-makers, cordwainers, tallow-chandlers, soap-boilers, white and blacksmiths, steel-makers, turners, braziers, coachmakers, coppersmiths, hatters, tailors, weavers, dyers, leather breeches makers, gloves, and such other persons as may be properly classed under the head of *manufacturers* (exclusively of house-carpenters, masons, painters, victuallers, bakers, barbers, and others, who cannot be correctly denominated so) appear to be about 2,200 persons. The city and suburbs being found to contain near 43,000 men, women, and children, and it being generally supposed, that the adult males are about one-fifth of the whole number, it would appear, that of the 8,600 adult males, contained in Philadelphia, above one-fourth are manufacturers, and consequently, that of the eatables, and home-made drinkables, consumed in that town, above one-fourth are required for their use and that of their wives, children, journeymen, ap-

prentices, and servants: and an addition for the grain consumed by their horses and cows may be fairly made. This state of things, it is believed, is exceeded by many of the towns in the eastern states, and in some interior situations,* where it is manifest that fewer are employed in the learned professions, and foreign commerce, and not so many live upon their incomes.

It will not be asserted, that the United States are able to feed all the nations of Europe at the same time, nor that they afford any promise of so extensive a capacity in future. Neither are such ideas conveyed by the representation of the committee of the British privy council, on which lord Sheffield so feelingly animadverts. They represent, as the result of a careful and deliberate enquiry, their thorough conviction, that the countries of Europe, taken collectively, do not produce, in ordinary years, an aggregate quantity of grain, larger than what appears requisite for the consumption of their inhabitants: and they proceed to observe, that in the event of a failure of crops, a "*supply can only be had from America.*" The reasonable meaning of their representation is, that as Europe is an extensive and populous region, making great, constant, and inevitable demands for food, producing in ordinary seasons, that is, usually, *a mere competent supply*, but *no excess*, and as it is

* Several inland towns in Pennsylvania, and Winchester, in Virginia, have been ascertained to exceed the city of Philadelphia, in the proportion of manufacturers.

liable to *partial* and even *general failures* of crops, it must, in the event of one of those *partial* or *general* misfortunes, look to some other quarter of the world for relief. With the exception of Barbary, whose capacity to supply appears to be much more limited than ours, no other country than America could present itself to the committee. Great allowances should have been made for those gentlemen, by lord Sheffield, admitting, for a moment, that they were wrong, as it appears probable they may have been misled by several parts of his treatise on our commerce, which really tend to confirm their doctrine. In that publication, under the head of *wheat and flour*, he observes, "that Canada, Nova-Scotia, and *the American states* are likely to have most of the corn trade which England had." Our supplies to Nova Scotia have been stated; and *as they are admitted from us only when necessity requires them*, the existing license of the governor of that province to introduce American flour, grain, and live stock *through the whole of the summer* (and indeed from May to November) when *the navigation of Canada is open*, will answer our enquiries about the capacity of those provinces to take away the corn trade from England. Under the same head, and on the following page, he further says, "the American states were *more than competitors* with us for the wheat trade; they had for some years engrossed *nearly the whole* of what we had; and it is computed, upon an average of five years, they had received from Spain and Portugal upwards of £.320,000

sterling, per annum, for that grain." It will surely be deemed very reasonable in the committee to suppose that the United States, which were said to have supplied the two kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, for five successive years, with *wheat alone* to the amount of £.320,000 sterling, could have furnished to Great Britain the less sum of £.291,000 sterling, in all kinds of grain and flour, which they have paid to foreign nations for twenty years past. Under the head of "ships built for sale," lord Sheffield again confirms the ideas of the committee, by saying, in very handsome and forcible language, "America had *robbed* us, at least for a time, of a corn trade, that some time ago brought in to us as much as almost any article of export," As his lordship considers an honest competition of *fellow citizens* in the light of *robbery*, the reasonableness of his other conceptions, will, no doubt, be duly examined.

Lord Sheffield leads to a material error, affecting the just estimation of our corn trade, when he states tobacco to be the principal article of American commerce. It appears, by the return of the treasury, that *flour* is the most valuable and (exclusively of the connected articles of bread, wheat and other grain) it exceeded tobacco by a quarter of a million of dollars. Wheat (including the commodities made of it) is one-third more valuable than tobacco; and as this last production appears to have been advanced in quantity, 36 per

cent. on a comparifon with the exportation of the year 1770, when lord Sheffield fates it to have been our firft, the increafed importance of wheat is manifefted.*

If we turn our eyes from Great-Britain to other countries, the American grain trade does not appear to be lefs interefting to Europe and her colonies. Spain, Portugal, the wine iflands, the Bahamas, Bermuda, the fugar colonies, the northern Britifh colonies, and the foreign fisheries, regularly demand from us fome of the various articles, which it comprehends. The cultivation of the vine, the advancement of their colonies, the extenfion of commerce, and the increafe of the manufactures of France, which two laft are to be expected in confequence of the revolution in that kingdom, render it highly probable that they will not be able to do without fupplies from other countries. It is the opinion of one of their beft writers,† that they do not ordinarily export more than one-fiftieth of their crop. Should any accident—the introduction of Britifh and Dutch manufacturers, who are accuftomed to beer, for example—lead them into breweries, than which nothing is more poffible, that fmall proportion of furplus would be quickly engroffed. There is an highly interefting idea, on this point, which has been recently ftrted, and which may attraft the attention of their practical

* See exports of 1792 and 1793.

† Necker.

politicians: the opinion referred to is, that every country which manufactures largely, is in a situation of considerably less danger of want, if its people ordinarily use drinks made from *grain*; because the dreadful consequences of famine may be avoided with certainty and ease, by converting to the use of food, the grain which will be regularly procured from agriculture or importation, to supply the demands of the brewers and distillers. The Dutch have been always unable to raise more than a small proportion of their bread-stuff and the modern estimates of their population countenance the presumption of a large increase. They are, moreover, great brewers and distillers from grain: and their sugar colonies, on the southern main, have wonderfully advanced. These symptoms of new demand, on the part of the European nations, together with the certain requisitions of grain arising from the universal increase of manufactures and attention to foreign trade, are accompanied by some important circumstances, which prevent a proportionate production of that indispensable necessary. The growth of private wealth in many parts of Europe, particularly in Britain, the consequent increase of horses for equipages and other purposes of pleasure, the laying out of park grounds, and the diversion of lands from the less profitable production of grain to that of grass, the declension of agriculture in Poland, by reason of the extreme badness of their internal arrangements, the probable increase of Polish manufactures, should they become free, the continual

efforts of the European manufacturers to draw away the labourers of the farmers, the greater prevalence of emigration to their colonies and other countries among the cultivators, than among the manufacturers, owing to the wretched situation of the agricultural poor in countries, where the high value of land renders it in effect a monopoly, and the present universal attention to political reformation, which for a time interrupts agriculture, are among the causes here contemplated.

But it is not unfair to ask, from what source are the maritime countries of Europe to be supplied, in the event of a failure of the crops of *one* or *more* of them, in so great a degree as from the United States? The value of grain, flour, meal, and bread, from the United States greatly exceeds that of the same articles from the kingdom of Naples and its connected island of Sicily, which have been considered as the granary of the Mediterranean. Poland, once termed the granary of Europe, is less extensive including (Lithuania) than the country of the United States, which furnishes grain for Europe. Its exports are not ascertained: but there appear strong presumptions, that it does not ship through Dantzick and Elbing, half as great a value of grain, and the articles made of grain, as the United States. Britain, Spain, Portugal, Holland, and lately Flanders, are obliged to import. Russia is said to have shipped in 1787, wheat and rye to the amount of near 1,000,000 of bushels, but imports grain liquors; and manufactures are growing, and wars are fre-

quent in that kingdom. Sweden imports very large quantities of rye, and ships no grain. That article is much the first among the imports of Denmark and Norway. Prussia produces much corn, and exports some: but manufactures are greatly advanced in that kingdom; and the home consumption of grain will probably equal the production, in a few years. In short, a careful and impartial survey of Europe, will confirm the opinion of the committee of the privy council, that the productions of grain in that quarter of the world, are not generally speaking, more than equal to the consumption of its inhabitants. A moment's recollection will remind us that even those countries which do not commonly import grain, are, upon the occurrence of small disappointments, obliged to seek it from America, and other foreign states; that some parts of Europe constantly import from us in large quantities; that all of them steadily, or occasionally, directly, or indirectly, supply their colonies from hence; that since the manufactures of Great-Britain have been so far extended, as to employ six elevenths of her people, and since the extension of her manufacture of grain liquors in particular, her dependence for a portion of her bread upon foreign nations, is proved to be unavoidable, by the most settled maxims of her own political economists; that her real deficiency is *the irremovable want* of the requisite proportion of agriculturalists; and finally, that even in the present state of our population, the United States actually contribute much more to the supply of the nations of Europe and

their colonies, with grain, bread, and flour, than any two, perhaps any three countries in the world; and that their capacity to enlarge that supply, is steadily and rapidly increasing.

This subject has been dwelt upon the longer from its high importance to the United States, and to the general happiness of mankind; and from the new proofs which lord Sheffield has given of a particular indisposition, that Britain should appear to rely on the United States, even in the smallest degree, though we give a greater support to her manufacturers and shipping than any two other foreign nations. It is feared, that nothing beneficial can be expected between the two countries, if the errors and prejudices of so professed a champion against us, have not a very cautious hearing. It will not be deemed unreasonable or improper, to consider in that light a writer, who, in his first book, labours to show, that the production and commerce of grain are bad objects of attention to the American states, because (as he alleges) Europe seldom wants it; and who, in his second book, takes equal pains to prove, that America cannot raise grain for the wants even of Great-Britain itself, when he finds it established on the highest British authority, that their own kingdom and those of other nations in Europe, can only look to America for the deficiency of supply, which the increase of manufactures, of people, of grass and pasturage, of grain liquors, and the uncertainty of seasons, in one or another of them, is constantly producing. He

will prove a bad politician, and a very bad British patriot, who shall animate against the manufactures of Great-Britain, *the body of the American planters and farmers*, by promoting a severe system, which shall debar them of a chance of making returns for an immense demand of British fabrics, in the unmanufactured productions of their soil and labour. But independent of the danger to Britain, from listening at this time, to so professed an anti-American, a wise nation will not give too much attention to a writer, whose ardent spirit of monopoly leads him to attempt to circumvent the same foreign nation, in her pursuits of commerce—of manufactures—and even of her great, best business, the tillage of a various and productive soil. If the policy of England ought to be a dereliction of some parts of her system of internal or external commerce in favour of agriculture, let her politicians firmly maintain the doctrine. America will approve their patriotism. But in doing this, it surely is not necessary to depreciate the largest purchasers of those manufactures, on which the existence of more than half their people depends. It may be well to reflect too that the industry and soil, which foreign corn laws may tend to deprive of their accustomed object, can be applied to the production of hemp, flax, wool, cotton, leather, and iron, or their preparation in the form of fabrics to substitute for theirs. It is happy for the United States, that whenever they are injured in the loss of a vent for any portion of a particular production, they can create a market for it by checking the introduction of

some connected foreign commodity, and making a succedaneum for it at home. *See paper S.*

Though it would not be difficult, in pursuing, the examination of lord Sheffield's observations, to adduce many more proofs, that his facts are often erroneous, and his observations frequently unjust; and that his predictions have not been verified, but often contradicted by experience, the subject will not be further pursued. It is confided, that enough has been said, to induce an attentive revision of his book. This, it is believed, will be sufficient to lead the British nation to look in future to other sources of information. It may be observed, in extenuation of his lordship's errors, that the circumstances of the United States are considerably altered since he wrote: but this will not justify the confidence of his *predictions*, nor apologize for the wild errors of them; and it may not improperly be again remarked to those, who are convinced of this great and happy change in our situation, since the year 1784, that a conduct on the part of foreigners, which might have been deemed prudent when our political horizon was darkly clouded, would be unwise now, and might be dangerous to some of their interests hereafter. Of this lord Sheffield's late book proves him to be not duly sensible.

The United States have many features of natural strength, and many advantages from their local

position. The friends of other forms of government will admit, that they have exhibited a highly improved example of a republic, and that they have practised upon the plan, since it was formed, though not a very long time, with extraordinary success. They have no occasion to make war for territory; and they are considerably removed from the danger of foreign enterprises against them. Their productions are remarkably diversified, and consequently adapted to various purposes and uses, and are, with a few exceptions, either necessaries of life, or articles of such general demand and consumption, as to be nearly as much sought. Having been recently a part of an intelligent and enterprising commercial nation, and having a very extensive sea-coast, the citizens of America have been insensibly led to survey all the regions of foreign commerce, and in passing through most of them, have manifested, since the reformation of their political system, every talent requisite for the honourable and lucrative pursuit of trade. The redundant state of private wealth in several foreign nations, promises every addition to our active capital, that occasion can require, if we preserve *the honest spirit* with which the reforms of the general and state governments have been lately made, and the wisdom with which they have been administered. The fulness of the European population, and the degree in which every walk, commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural, is crowded there, afford reason to expect the steady

increase of our people.* Civil and religious liberty, now settled on rational and tried principles, certify an exemption from all real oppression.

Being disposed to promote the freedom of commerce, the United States would probably have made no regulations, but with a view to revenue, had they not met in almost every country, duties and restrictions in their home trade, and charges, prohibitions and exclusions, in their colonial trade. But although some nations will not permit us to ship them certain of our articles, others withhold from us certain of theirs, and others impede, absolutely or in effect, the introduction of our own goods in our own bottoms, yet we have hitherto contented ourselves with a small addition to the rates of our tariff, and to the tonnage on ships, both together not exceeding £. 87,000, sterling, *on all foreign nations taken together*. It will not be alleged, that this sum will bear a serious comparison with the injuries our agriculture, manufactures and commerce sustain from several of the principal European powers.

To obtain relief by arrangements as beneficial to foreign states as to ourselves, will probably be the liberal aim of our government. It is confidently expected, that mutual benefits will create and cement a strong and lasting friendship in the case

* Almost every comfortable country in Europe, as to the state of its population, is arrived at an absolute *plethora*.

of those nations with which such arrangements shall be formed; and with regard to others, the wisdom of the legislature, no doubt, will be sedulously exercised either temperately to meet them with the requisite policy and firmness, or to transfer from their hands, to those of more equitable nations, the unrequited benefits they receive from us—or to derive from our own skill, capital, credit, and industry, the accommodations and supplies which they have heretofore furnished upon terms of great advantage to themselves, but which have been inadequately reciprocated to the United States.

S E C T I O N VII.

CONTAINING A TABLE OF THE PRINCIPAL RESTRICTIONS, IMPOSITIONS AND PROHIBITIONS SUSTAINED BY THE UNITED STATES, IN THEIR TRADE WITH THE BRITISH DOMINIONS, AND OF THOSE SUSTAINED BY GREAT-BRITAIN IN HER TRADE WITH THE DOMINIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: ALSO SOME REMARKS ON CERTAIN PREVALENT TOPICS, RELATIVE TO THE GENERAL BUSINESS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES.

THE intention of the foregoing examination being solely the correction of error in the statement of facts, and in the opinions or conclusions deduced from them, it has appeared on consideration, not to be improper to pursue the subject with the same views, a little further. An idea, that the balance of favour or indulgence is received by the United States, frequently appears in the publications, and

is said to prevail in the minds of persons of weight and influence in Great-Britain. It may not therefore be useless to bring up to view the principal facts, relative to the question of reciprocity of commercial regulation. An attempt will be made to throw this statement into the form of a table, as it will be the more clear and impressive.

GREAT-BRITAIN

THE UNITED STATES

Prohibits American vessels from entering into the ports of several parts of her dominions, viz. the West-Indies, Canada, Nova-Scotia, New-Brunswick, Newfoundland, Cape Breton, Hudson's Bay, Honduras Bay, and her East-India spice market.

She imposes double light money on American vessels in most of her ports.

She prohibits the navigating, *ad libitum*, of American vessels, by native or other seamen.

She prohibits the employment of American-built ships by her own citizens, in many branches of trade, upon any terms.

She charges a duty on American sail cloth, made up in the United States for British ships.

Admit British vessels into *all* their ports, subject to a tonnage duty of 44 cents, or 24 sterling pence, more than American vessels, and an addition of one tenth to the amount of the impost accruing on their cargoes.

They do not impose extra light money on British vessels in any of their ports.

They admit the navigating of British vessels by native or other seamen, *ad libitum*.

They admit the employment of British-built ships by their own citizens, in every branch of trade upon the terms of 44 cents extra per ton, and one tenth extra on the impost arising from their cargoes.

They do not charge a duty on British sail-cloth, made up in Great-Britain for American ships.

GREAT-BRITAIN.

THE UNITED STATES.

She prohibits the importation of goods from several parts of her dominions into others, in American vessels, upon any terms.

She prohibits the importation of goods into Great-Britain, by American vessels from any other country than the U. S.

She prohibits the importation into Great-Britain from the United States, by American vessels, of all goods not produced by the United States.

She prohibits the importation of any goods previously brought into the United States, from the said states into Great-Britain, even in British vessels.

She prohibits the exportation of several articles from Great-Britain to the United States.

She lays duties of various rates upon the exportation of many articles to the United States.

She prohibits the importation of all manufactures from the United States, into her European dominions, and her colonies, unless it be some very simple preparations, and decoctions, requisite to her navy, shipping and manufactures.

She imposes very considerable duties upon some of the agricul-

They admit the importation of goods from any part of their dominions into another, in British vessels, on the terms of 44 cents per ton extra on the vessel.

They admit the importation of goods into the United States, in British vessels, from every country whatever.

They do not prohibit the importation into the United States from Great-Britain, by British vessels, of any goods not produced by Great-Britain.

They do not prohibit the importation of any goods previously brought into Great-Britain, from that kingdom into the United States, in either British or American bottoms.

They do not prohibit the exportation of any article from the United States to Great-Britain.

They do not lay a duty on the exportation of any article whatever to Great-Britain.

They do not prohibit the importation of any manufacture whatever from Great-Britain.

They impose moderate duties (lower than any other foreign

GREAT-BRITAIN.

THE UNITED STATES.

tural productions of the United States, and excludes others by duties equal to their value.

She prohibits for considerable terms of time, some of the principal *agricultural* productions of the United States, and others at all times.

It is understood that by treaty she grants some favours, which are not extended to the United States.

She prohibits the importation of some American articles, in American ships, or any but British ships, into her European dominions.

She does not permit an American citizen to import goods into some of her dominions, and to sell them there even in British vessels. In other parts of her dominions, she lays an extra tax on him, or his sales.

She imposes heavy duties on certain articles of the produce of the American fisheries, and insupportable duties on others, in some parts of her dominions: and in other parts, she prohibits their importation.

She prohibits the consumption of some American articles, of

nation by 2 3, and 4 for one) on the *produce and manufactures* of Great-Britain, except in a very few instances, and exclude scarcely any articles by duties equal to their value.

They prohibit none of the agricultural productions of Great-Britain or her dominions.

They treat Great-Britain as favourably as any nation whatever, as to ships, imports, and exports, and in all other respects.

They do not prohibit the importation of any British article in British vessels or any but American vessels.

They permit a British citizen to import goods into all their ports, in any vessels, and to sell them there without any extra tax on him, or his sales.

They impose only five per cent. on the produce of the British fisheries (which duty is drawn back on exportation) and admit every article derived from them.

They do not prohibit the consumption of any British article

GREAT-BRITAIN.

THE UNITED STATES.

which she permits the importation. whatever.

<p>She prohibits the importation of American articles from foreign countries into the British dominions, even in her own ships.</p>	<p>They do not prohibit the importation of British articles from foreign countries in any ships.</p>
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In detailing the regulations of foreign nations, so various and complex as those of Great-Britain, it is not easy to be correct. The above statement, however, is sincerely believed to contain the substance of the existing British restrictions, prohibitions and impositions, upon commerce, so far as they have any relation to the possible or actual intercourse with the United States. Those which are to be found in the acts of Congress, or which result from them, are few, and are also intended to be correctly given in the table. On a review of the whole of these regulations, it will be perceived, that those of the United States are considerably more favourable to the subjects of the British crown, and their manufactures, produce and navigation, than those of Great-Britain are to the corresponding interests of the citizens of the United States. It has appeared necessary to make a statement in detail and by a comparative contrast, in order that we might render manifest *the absolute and important truth*, that the commercial impediments to Great-Britain in the laws of the United States, are much less considerable than those in the acts of the British parliament are to the United States. Had this

statement been confined to *the island of Great-Britain* alone, on the one part, and our dominions at large, on the other, it would have been found, that our obstructions to British commerce are far less than those which Britain throws in the way of the commerce of the United States. But it is just and natural for us, in considering a *national* subject, to take into our estimation the whole of the territories of the British crown, and the whole population, trade, manufactures, and productions thereof, more especially as it is plain, that all considerations, relative to the American side, are extended to our whole territory and all its appertinances and relative circumstances. Should Great-Britain prove, that exceptions respecting colonies are as reasonable on her part, as they are fashionable, still it remains to be counterbalanced, that no such exceptions are made by us; for we treat the vessels, produce and citizens of *the colonies*, as we treat those of Britain. If it is politic and right, that the parliament of Great-Britain should exclude us from their colonial trade, then Great-Britain ought not to complain of any *countervailing* regulations, which may exclude her from some *equivalent* advantage in our trade: and so in regard to any other country. Should it be proved, that all nations have interdicted their colonial trade to foreigners, it will be no less easy to show, that the withholding of any kind of advantage from a foreign nation, by reason of the particular circumstances of the restricting party, has always been deemed a justification for some corresponding ref-

triction on the part of the country suffering. But it cannot be proved, that all nations prohibit the participation in their colonial trade to foreigners. The French, the Swedes, the Danes, and the Dutch govern themselves differently from Britain, and from one another. The interdicting rule is not universal. It cannot be rendered permanent, uniform, or precise. It must, therefore, be liable, like other commercial objects, to *legislative discretion and treaty*, and must be involved in the general question of *reciprocity*. Were this not the case, the greatest political absurdities would be induced. Let it be supposed for a moment, that two European nations possess transmarine colonies of equal value, and that one of them grants a perfect freedom of the trade of her colonies to the United States, while the other absolutely refuses that advantage to us. It will not be alleged, that the last of these nations has claims to a participation in the commerce of the United States, equal to those of the former. Further—the distinction taken, with regard to *colonies*, does not apply to all the transmarine dominions of the British crown. Canada, Nova-Scotia, New-Brunswic, Jamaica, and a part of the island of St. Christophers, for example, are *conquered countries*, to whose commerce, considerations other than colonial, apply. And were the idea of colonies strictly adhered to, (*viz.* the establishment of bodies of natives, who have emigrated from a state, and settled in a new country, politically connected with the old one,) it would be found, that several of the new states of America

are more truly colonies of the older states, than several of the islands and provinces, which bear the appellation, are colonies of Great-Britain.

As it has been an uniform opinion of lord Sheffield and other persons in England, that ship-building would be annihilated in the United States, the present state of that business, it is hoped, will destroy some material miscalculations, and will prove, that we do not labour under an inability to carry our own productions without the aid of *any one* foreign nation. If we have not yet encountered the expense of a navy, let it be remembered, that Prussia, which has many more private vessels than Russia, has acted the same part; although the empress, of the latter country with fewer merchant-ships, than any maritime power in Europe, and much fewer than the United States, has nevertheless a very formidable navy.

Nations, which at present enjoy any considerable portion of the American trade, must sustain very unfavourable consequences from the continuance of impediments or burdens on our future intercourse with their dominions. Our exports, being transported in our own ships and those of any less unkind country, will advance the manufactures and trade of a nation adjacent and rival to them—or, sent to the colonies of more favourable nations, will greatly increase the growth of interfering colonial productions. It is with the utmost difficulty that any nation now accomplishes circuit-

ous supplies of other European countries with our produce ; and it *has become our duty to make foreign nations sensible of the disadvantages of double freights and charges, under which they receive our productions*, the loss arising from which, falls in part, upon our farmers, and, in part, upon their citizens, who are the consumers. Aggravating impediments to our trade, are now deeply and constantly wounding the manufacturers in Europe, who work up American raw materials, or who supply us with their fabrics. Duties on our iron, for example, reduced the price, and thus occasioned it to be bought at home to manufacture : and so of other native raw materials. The refusal of cotton, and other raw articles, not of our growth, in any bottoms, from America, makes them cheaper to our manufacturers, or to the exporters of them for the use of those European manufacturers, whose laws will permit them to be received from hence. Impediments in the way of our shipping, or heavy duties on merchandize from hence, occasion the merchants, as before observed, in regard to our produce, to send foreign raw materials to countries, that will admit the vessels and goods upon more easy terms. Nations, in this enlightened age, will more and more avail themselves of *the mistakes* that obtain in the commercial regulations of their neighbours and rivals : and the errors of restrictions and duties, so far as they shall be really impolitic, will thus induce a certain and consequent suffering by those who impose them on us. So, as one country drives our vessels and produce from

her ports, others may be thereby induced to open their markets to them. The currents of commerce, like those of the rivers, will certainly be turned from that side where obstructions are created.

The United States have been led to serious and beneficial reflection on their affairs, by the prevailing disposition to restrict their intercourse with Europe, and the severer regulations of several nations in regard to the commerce of their transmarine dominions. They are prompted to decide, that the immense savings and the extensive advantages they can derive from manufactures, protected by their own laws, render them no less worthy of a share of their capital and industry, than commerce. The importance of this object has been forced upon the minds of many, by European restrictions: and a continuance of those restrictions, will, though gradually, yet infallibly, make converts of the whole nation. So weighty are the considerations relative to manufactures, in the opinions of many, that it begins to be seriously questioned, whether the employment of a share of 20 or 25,000 tons of vessels in the British West-India trade, and of less than half that quantity in the trade to their remaining colonies, ought to induce our consent materially to keep down or diminish any salutary duties on foreign manufactures. The American impost is now very moderate, compared with that of other nations; unquestionably the most so of any which British goods encounter in foreign countries. It does not exceed, on a medium, 8 or 9 per cent.

Were it to be increased to 14, 20, 25, 28, and even $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. as in France, Spain and Portugal—were prohibitions to be added on some articles, as in those countries, and on all articles, as in one or two others, (with a judicious postponement of the time, for the strongest regulations to take place) what would be the consequences, what the effects upon the transplanting of foreign capital and manufactures to the United States? It may be urged, that we should be injured by such prohibition, or even by the higher rates of duty above mentioned. So far as we did not get manufactures established, in the mean time, that might be the case; but the same might be observed, in regard to the commercial regulations of Great-Britain, some of which really injure her; and many of which deeply injure Ireland, the West-Indies, and the remaining colonies.

If it is in the power of Great-Britain to draw from other countries, the articles she obtains from us of better quality, and upon lower terms, which is often asserted to be possible, it is not to be forgotten, that by ceasing to receive any goods from the United States, the benefit of employing her ships will be so far lost. The articles rejected may be somewhat more difficult for us to sell, and therefore will be necessarily converted, in a greater degree than at present, into manufactures, or they may go to supply other nations, who now purchase those foreign articles, which it is alledged Britain can procure with more advantage. Among the objections

Great-Britain ought to have to this, the foreign connections we shall be thereby led to form, and the cement it will give to old ones, will not be found the least. But the assertion really is not true. The furs and skins, the oak timber, oak boards, oak planks, slaves, potash, pearlsh, ginseng the same qualities of rice, some qualities of tobacco, the grain, in case of short European crops, and some of the naval stores cannot be obtained in quantity and quality from other countries.

We are not infrequently reminded, when the loss of the American market and our consumption of British manufactures are spoken of, that, notwithstanding our former non-importation agreements, and the interruptions of the war, the British manufactories were more flourishing, than during the previous peace, when our demand was the greatest. There appear to be some reasons, however, for doubting the truth of this assertion. The tables in Anderson's commerce, already mentioned, state the exports of the year 1774 at £.17,607,447, and those of 1781, at £.11,470,388. This declension was regular, almost every year's exports being less than those of the preceding. These facts are the more remarkable, as the imports of Great-Britain in 1781, were greater than those in 1776, or in any intermediate year, and the prices of raw articles and provisions exported, were higher. It is to be observed, also, that large exports for the British merchants and dealers, who sold extra supplies to their armies and navies in America, the West and

East-Indies, Gibraltar, &c. were made, for the use of the great number of officers, soldiers, and seamen, employed in those places. The extra public purchases of clothing, tents, arms, cordage, sail cloth, porter, and other *manufactured* articles, for their sea and land forces, must have been immense, when we reflect, that about £.14,000,000 per annum, on an average of the term of the war, was added to their debt, besides the great sums of money collected and paid within the year; and that the supplies granted for 1781, exceed those of 1774 by £.19,300,000, a larger sum by 100 per cent. than Great-Britain usually exported in manufactures prior to the late treaty of peace. The expenditures of such a war, must, indeed, occasion the woolen, linen, leathern and metal branches, and several others, to flourish exceedingly: but the consequences in regard to the increase of burdens on the people, and to the national prosperity, must be viewed in the most serious light. In the time of the war, too, foreign manufactures could be less easily introduced into their own markets, which left the demand for consumption and importation to be supplied by their own people. It is to be observed further, that the eight years which followed 1774, were those in which machinery was first rendered considerably profitable in Great-Britain. Before the American war, the cotton branch was very inconsiderable in that country; but though it has increased wonderfully since the peace, it must have felt a very large advancement during the term in which our regular

importations from thence were cut off. Other branches were aided during those years, by the introduction of machinery, manual flight and new processes, so as to diminish the effects of the interruption of the American demand. It is in the highest degree probable, that the loss of our consumption would be sensibly felt at this time. In a season of peace, the enormous extra demand for the use of their armies and navy does not exist. Ireland now menaces Great-Britain with the diminution of her importations. Such extraordinary *new* inventions of mechanical and chemical aid are not to be expected again—and the United States might derive a very considerable degree of independency on British manufactures, by the adoption of labour-saving machines, (the peculiar value of which, to them, they are beginning to perceive) in the cotton, flaxen, hempen, metal, and part of the woolen and filken branches, to all of which raw materials they apply. The capacities of the United States for establishing these mills, and manufactures in general will be exemplified in the case of New-Jersey, which by a return in 1784, is ascertained to have had then 41 fulling-mills, 8 furnaces, 79 forges, 366 saw-mills, 508 grist-mills, and 192 tan-yards, though her population appears to be about one part in twenty-one of that of the United States. Were the United Netherlands to seize a moment of uneasiness between us and Great-Britain, and were they to devote their shipping and immense private capital to the supply and promotion of machine manufactures, they would prove danger-

ous rivals to England in all foreign markets: and the same may be said in regard to the efforts of other countries, if they were seriously to undertake manufactures by labour-saving machinery.

It may be fairly asked, what country supports the navy of Great-Britain, in so great a degree as the United States, by the employment they give to her ships? The Russian trade furnishes cargoes for much less than 230,000 tons, which is the exact quantity of British vessels that cleared from these states, in the year following August 1789. The whole Baltic trade of Great-Britain, with all the countries of the various powers that lie within the sound, important as it is to her, does not fill more. Their trade with Holland, France, Spain, and Portugal, does not all together employ as many vessels. Their whole fisheries, American colonial trade, and West-India trade, do not employ and load more.* And how, it may be further asked, are the United States requited for thus strengthening the acknowledged bulwark of Great-Britain, by annually giving a complete lading to the unequalled quantity of 230,000 tons of her private vessels? The whole of the American vessels, which have arrived in our ports, in the same year, from all

* It appears from a British statement of their trade with all the world, and authentic documents published by Congress, that their vessels, cleared out from the United States in 1791 and 1792, were about equal in tonnage to all the British vessels cleared out of Great-Britain for Russia, Denmark and Norway, Sweden, Prussia, Poland, Hamburg, Bremen, and Germany in general. A. D. 1793.

the countries and places subject to the British crown, amount to no more than 43,580 tons. Yet there are not wanting persons, who will affirm, that the balance of *favour* is given to the United States: and, that Great-Britain is so far injured by our deportment, as to justify a retaliation upon us!

There are some considerations drawn from the state of things in Europe, which ought to render the British commerce with the United States and the consumption of British manufactures by the citizens of this country, matters of greater than former importance. The infusion of republican qualities into the governments of that quarter of the world, will be followed by the extension of trade, internal and external. The character of the merchant and manufacturer will be duly esteemed, and large portions of dormant capital, and numerous classes of inactive men, will be turned by circumstances to employments, which will have lost their ancient imaginary disrepute. The tendency of such events, in regard to the supply of raw materials, and in regard to manufactures which America now draws from Great-Britain, will not be difficult to discover.

A reliance is sometimes placed upon the disposition of the southern parts of the United States of America, in favour of such regulations of commerce, as would be agreeable to Great-Britain—that is, the easy and unincumbered admission of her ships and manufactures into our ports. What-

ever truth there may be in regard to some of those states, it is known they are far from unanimous, on that subject. It may be questioned, too, whether measures, which would create disputes, and interrupt the British trade with America, would not be disagreeable and inconvenient to the merchants and manufacturers of Great-Britain, as was manifestly the case on the occasion of the late difference with Russia. Ports circumstanced as Liverpool and Lancaster, which have large concerns in ships and comparatively little other trade but as carriers and shipholders, may be disposed to promote any measures, that will advance navigation, at the expense of general commerce, manufactures, and agriculture; but the great capitalists and merchants of London, Bristol, and Glasgow, &c. and the manufacturers of Manchester, Sheffield, Birmingham, Norwich, Yorkshire, &c. will view with due seriousness, the probability of diverting our trade into other channels, and the deliberate and decided measures to promote American manufactures, which the restraints upon our navigation and commerce may hereafter produce. The objections of those parts of the southern states, which may be averse to further impositions on foreign merchandize, will be moderated by their convictions, that American manufacturers may be brought to consume and work up their productions at home, and to furnish them in return by not very flow degrees, with the supplies they now derive from abroad.

At the time when this examination was commenced, it was believed, from many symptoms, that the true state of things in this country was little known or understood in Great-Britain. The prejudices naturally arising from so warm a contest as that of 1775, the disorders which grew out of a lax and ill digested government, and the errors incidental to an inexperienced country, suddenly elevated from a colony to an empire—all contributed to deceive and mislead Great-Britain, in her estimation of the United States. The volume of lord Sheffield was supposed to increase the public misconceptions. His work upon the Irish commerce in 1785, represented the American states in the same unfavourable manner in several passages. Symptoms of error in the opinions of other persons of respectable standing in the British community, were, unfortunately, observable. It appeared, therefore, to be a matter of great importance to both nations, that an attempt should be made to point out past and to correct existing mistakes. While it has been desired in doing this, to excite no painful sensations in the minds of those who are connected with the interests of Great-Britain, it has not been deemed necessary or fit to suppress any truths, because they might prove unacceptable to persons, if any such there be, who may want magnanimity enough to receive them with moderation, and to examine them with candour. The facts adduced on this occasion, are certainly not the more true, because they have been asserted in

this publication, nor will it be denied, that coming from an American press they should be examined, on the other side carefully and thoroughly. Such an examination should be desired by the United States, for it was sincerely treated in the beginning as genuine policy in nations, to avoid short lived deceptions, and rather to search diligently for the ground of common interest, which can never be ascertained by misrepresentation, or by erroneous or disingenuous investigation. If arrangements beneficial to the two countries can be effected it must be through means very different from those. The minds of well intentioned and able men on both sides should be dispassionately applied to the necessary enquiries and discussions; the subject should be thoroughly examined and understood; and frank admissions of the advantages derived by either nation from the other, ought to be made. With the lights, which might be thus obtained, it would not be difficult to determine whether the nature of things in the United States and Great-Britain, requires or admits of a treaty of friendship or commerce.

S E C T I O N V I I I .

A SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE,

CONCERNING THE PROGRESS AND PRESENT STATE OF AMERICAN
DOMESTIC, OR HOUSEHOLD MANUFACTURES.

IN the passage of the observations, which forms the head of SECTION III. to which this note be-

longs, the writer predicts, that we shall give a preference to British manufactures; that we shall not manufacture for ourselves; and that our demand for British goods will increase, in proportion to our population. The facts, in opposition to these ideas, which relate to the supplies drawn from foreign nations, have already been stated; as have most of those which regard American manufactures, fabricated by those who pursue them as *a separate occupation or calling*. But lord Sheffield does not appear to have foreseen the present state of our *family or household* manufactures.

The progress and present state of this invaluable branch of the national industry, exceeds every idea, it is believed, that has been formed of it, either in this country or in Europe. In all the states inhabited almost entirely by white people, domestic manufactures are known to be very considerable, yielding a considerable surplus for the use of the other parts of the union. But it is generally supposed, that in the states where the black people are numerous, (and especially near their seacoasts, where imported goods can be constantly and easily obtained) little or no manufactures are made. The following abstract from a minute statement of the household manufactures, in one neighbourhood, of twenty families (rich and poor) indiscriminately taken, and in a part of Virginia, on a navigable river emptying into the Atlantic ocean, where the whites are, to the blacks, as

one two, will show, that much more is probably made, than is generally believed to be the case.

(1)

Male and female house-keepers,	-	-	20
Total number of white and black persons,	-	-	301
Fine table linnen, sheeting, shirting, &c. yards,	-	-	1,907
Negro clothing, blanketing &c. yards,	-	-	1,007
Value of fine cloth &c. per. yard,	-	-	cents 60
Value of coarse do. per do.	-	-	42
Pairs of fine stockings,	-	-	152
Pairs of coarse do.	-	-	108
Highest value made in one family,	-	-	dolls. 267
Lowest do.	-	-	21 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total value of the manufactures of the 20 families	-	-	1,670
Families which did not manufacture	-	-	1
Term	-	-	the year 1790.

The following table obtained in the like indiscriminate and impartial way, has also been exhibited from another county of the same state, the situation of which is interior.

(2)

Families, rich and poor,	-	-	-	20
Yards of linen	-	-	-	1,095
Yards of woolen,	-	-	-	344
Yards of cotton	-	-	-	1,681
Pairs of stockings	-	-	-	174
Pairs of shoes made on the estates	-	-	-	237
Total value	-	-	-	dolls. 1,791
Term	-	-	-	the year 1790

A person of reputation, who furnished the latter statement, accompanied it with an assurance, that

it might be considered as a fair average of the *family* manufactures throughout the adjacent countries.

These papers have been obtained under circumstances that justify a reliance on their truth, and are believed to be very little variant from the medium of the state of Virginia. Though they cannot be made the basis of a satisfactory estimate, the following brief one is hazarded merely to show the result. In Virginia (exclusive of Kentucky) 70,825 families appear on the late census. The lowest of the above returns ($1,670\frac{1}{3}$ dollars) is at the rate of $83\frac{1}{3}$ dollars to each family for home-made *hosiery and cloths* of wool, flax, hemp and cotton only. Two-thirds of this rate upon the whole number of families (cutting off a third, to make a moderate calculation, and omitting odd numbers) gives the prodigious sum of 3,900,000 dollars for those articles of mere *domestic* manufacture (exclusive of the work of regular tanners, shoemakers, blacksmiths, weavers and other tradesmen) in Virginia, and taking the United States at 3,900,000 persons, would appear to justify a computation of above 20,000,000 dollars for the whole.

Through similar means, but on the examination of other persons, in the counties of Accomack and Northampton lying on the bay of Chesapeake and the Atlantic ocean, it appears, that 315,000 yards of flaxen cloth are made in a district containing 2,729 families: also 45,000 yards of woollen, 30,000

yards of cotton, and 45,000 yards of linen and woolen cloth, and a quantity of coarse stockings nearly equal to the demand. It is added, that all the shoes, and three-fourths of the clothing of that country, are made by the tradesmen, or within the families, who reside in it. The raw materials, including the cotton, are the growth of their farms.

Another communication through the same channel states the manufactures of iron to exceed all others in Virginia (which must be erroneous, if household manufactures, as well as trades be taken into the calculation) and that the greater part of the farmers and planters tan the hides of the cattle they consume.

Two other communications from the same state inform, that *the families* in certain vicinities mentioned in them, make on a medium near 200 yards each of cotton, woolen, and linen goods—and that five-sixths of the shoes, cloth, and stockings, which are used in that country, are made in the household way. These two last statements contemplate four counties.

Similar information from the interior parts of South-Carolina (though less strong and extensive) has also been obtained, accompanied with a variety of specimens of substantial midling and coarse cotton, woolen, and linen goods, of which it is stated, that the inhabitants of that country manufacture, entirely in the family way, as much as they have

occasion for, “ cotton, flax, and hemp, being plentiful, and there being a considerable stock of good sheep ;” “ that there is a great deal done in the household way,” and “ that the greatest exertions are made ;” “ that they have been long in the habit of doing something in family manufactures, but have improved much in the last two years ; and that the weaving is done by the females,” which leaves the industry of the males to be applied to agriculture.

It is well established, that similar habits prevail in the interior country of Georgia ; and in the midland and western counties of North-Carolina, they are as attentive to domestic manufactures as the people of Virginia.

Such is the state of domestic or household manufactures in the southern states, where abundance of very fertile and cheap lands, and a large portion of black population, are supposed, in Europe, and even in our own country, to have prevented any considerable attention to that frugal and industrious pursuit.

Let us now turn to the northern scenes, where a more replete population, and a less productive soil have led to the prosecution of many branches of manufactures as regular trades.

The result of a careful enquiry, in every county of the state of Connecticut, has been uniform information from twenty-four vicinities, that *domestic* manufactures are carried to a very great extent.

The articles, made in the family way, and by persons engaged ordinarily in the cultivation of the earth, are woolen and linen cloths including fail-cloth; bed-ticks, some cotton goods, hosiery, nails, and spikes, some silk buttons, handkerchiefs, ribands and stuffs, sewing silk, threads, fringe, and pot and pearl ashes. It is observed, that there is scarcely a family in the state of Connecticut, so rich or so poor, as not assiduously to attend to domestic manufactures; that they are extending and improving very fast in quantity, variety, and quality;—and that considerable parcels of household linens, &c. are transported out by land and exported by water to the middle and southern states. Here then is *a surplus* of household manufactures sold *out of the state*. It is an acknowledged fact, that New-England linens have affected the price and importation of that article from New-York to Georgia. The foregoing statement is not intended to comprehend the manufactories of woolen cloths, hats, cotton goods, fail-cloth, checked and plain linens, shoes and boots, bell metal, buttons, wool and cotton cards, flaxseed oil, soap, candles, nails, anchors, axes, spades, shovels, cabinet work, carriages, saddles, books, &c. &c. conducted as regular and separate trades by individuals, companies, and associations, which are very considerable.

An enquiry has also been made, by a person of judgment, in the state of Massachusetts, who alleges, that the importations of foreign *manufactures*

into that state, are less by one half, at this time, than they were twenty years ago, though there has been a prodigious increase of population, and though considerable quantities of home made articles, are transported by land and water, to other parts. This is ascribed, in a very great degree, to the domestic manufactures, which are observable in the dresses and furniture of the people, and in the outward cargoes of the coasting and other trading vessels. The informant here contemplated, produced documents to show the magnitude of some of the regular trades, among which were 10,000 dozen pair of cotton and wool cards, much the greater part of which are applied to domestic manufactures throughout the United States, 2,400 pieces of sail-cloth per annum, at a single factory, 100 tons of nails per annum, at the Taunton factory alone, and 150,000 pair of stuff and silk shoes in the single town of Lynn, of which 10,355 pair had been shipped by one family to the Philadelphia market in a single year, although the manufacturers of that city, in the same line, are very expert and numerous.

Another informant has furnished a return, from which it appears, that in the last year thread and silk laces, and edgings, black and white, amounting to 41,979 yards, were manufactured in the family way, and not in regular factories, in the town of Ipswich in Massachusetts, which contains, by the late census, 4,562 men, women, and children. Pattern cards, containing thirty-six specimens of

these hitherto unnoticed manufactures, have been exhibited. This township comprehending a small sea-port, and consequently being open to foreign goods, and the freight of so compact an article as lace, being very small, it will be considered as a curious fact, that this manufacture should have grown up there to so great a height. It is added in the information, that laces are made in various parts of Massachusetts, though no where in so great a degree. It is also understood to be a domestic manufacture in several parts of Connecticut.

The existence and continual increase of domestic manufactures in Rhode-Island and New-Hampshire, are established on similar authority:—and the growth of regular trades is very great in the former, in proportion to its population. It is supposed to have succeeded as well as any scene, in its attempts in the cotton branch, by labour-saving machines. The following parcels of goods were manufactured, in the *family* way, in the first nine months of 1791, in the town of Providence, though it is a sea-port, and has a number of regular shops and factories, for making several of the same species of goods.

Linens cloth,	-	-	25,265 yards
Cotton do.	-	-	5,858 do.
Woolen do.	-	-	3,165 do.
Carpeting,	-	-	512 do.
Stockings,	-	-	4,093 pairs.
Gloves and mitts,	-	-	859 do.
Fringe,	-	-	260 yards

Three millions of nails (by tale) and 30,000 yards of woolen cloth were made, in 1790, in the town and vicinity of Providence. The industry of farmers and house-wives contributed materially to the manufacture of these articles.

The extent of the woolen branch of domestic manufactures, in New-Hampshire, is evinced by the great number of its fulling mills; for they have no considerable factory employed on that raw material. The same may be observed in regard to the general knowledge of the art of weaving, among the wives and daughters of the farmers in that state. This fact is very frequently observable throughout New-England, and some other parts of the United States. The number of fulling mills in New-Jersey, which has already been stated to be forty-one, is a proof of their domestic manufactures; as they have not any woolen factories. In the vicinity of the town of Reading, in Pennsylvania, are ten fulling mills, which induces the same conclusion there; and they are very numerous throughout the state. The export of flaxseed is equal to that of former times; the manufacture of oil consumes a far greater quantity than heretofore: wherefore a large growth of flax is to be inferred; and as we have very few linen factories, and the exportation of flax has ceased, a great domestic manufacture of linens must exist. The sale of spinning-wheel irons, *in one shop* in the city of Philadelphia, in the course of the last year, has amounted to 1,500 sets, which, though a small fact, is strongly

indicative of the extent of domestic manufactures, as spinning wheels are rarely, if ever, exported, or used in regular factories. The quantity sold is 29 per cent. greater than in any former year. Nail-making is frequently a household business in New England, a small anvil being found no inconvenience in the corner of a farmer's chimney. Bad weather, hours of disengagement from the occupations of the farm, and evenings, are thus rendered seasons of steady and profitable industry. Public estimates of the grain and fruit distilleries of the United States, have been made at 3,500,000 gallons; much the greater part of which is made by farmers and planters. The importation of cheese from all countries into the United States, was only forty tons, in the year ending in August 1790: and we exported a much larger quantity in the same term, from which a great manufacture of that article (in the domestic way, of course) is to be inferred. In short, domestic manufactures are great, various, and almost *universal* in this country.

The implements hitherto used in household manufactures, have been of the most ancient kinds. The art of dying has been advanced in families little further than what was communicated by a receipt as brief as those in a book of culinary instructions; the colouring ingredients have generally been such as nature handed to the thrifty housewife. The operations, from the raw to the manufactured state, have often been the simplest that can be conceived. Under circumstances like these, it

will not be too sanguine to expect that the diffemination of useful instruction in the practice of dying, in the nature of colours, and concerning other parts of the business, the introduction of the new improvements in the preparing and spinning machinery, on a scale as convenient as the common weaving apparatus, and the general use of the flying shuttle, and the double loom, may give a two-fold value to this most precious branch of the national industry. It will not be deemed one of the least favourable circumstances in the affairs of a country so eminently capacitated for agriculture as the United States, that the prosperous course of that great employment of their citizens, is accompanied with an assiduous prosecution of this economical domestic occupation, by persons of all ages and sexes, in hours and seasons, which cannot be employed in agricultural labour or in their ordinary family duties.

S E C T I O N IX.

AN ADDITIONAL NOTE.

CONCERNING AMERICAN MANUFACTURES IN GENERAL.

THE following representations of the manufactures at present existing in the United States, will tend to exhibit the ground of reliance which they afford at this time ; and presents the most encouraging assurances of their steady progress to permanent establishment.

I.

Tanned and tawed leather, dressed skins, with and without the hair or fur, and manufactures thereof, form one of the best established and most important branches. The consumption and exportation of the following articles made wholly, or in part of leather or skins are great, and, in several instances, general, and the importation of them, excepting the articles of gloves and fur trimmings, is very inconsiderable. Rigging hides, parchment, shoes, boots, and slippers, common harness of all kinds, harness and leathern materials for pleasurable carriages, saddles and bridles, housings, holsters, saddlebags, portmantuas, boot straps, leathern and hair trunks, fire-buckets, military articles, such as slings, belts, cartouch boxes and scabbards; leathern breeches and some vests and drawers; mens', youths', and some womens' gloves, fur muffs and tippets, linings and trimmings of fur for womens' and mens' apparel, some chair bottoms, the coatings of wool and cotton cards, and the leathern materials of other manufacturing implements and utensils; to which may be added glue, being an economical manufacture from the otherwise useless parts of raw and dressed skins and from old leathern articles.

II.

Manufactures from hemp and flax form another very important and well established branch. These

are made as well in regular factories and workshops, as in the household way. Cables, cordage, tarred and untarred; seins and nets of various kinds, twine and pack-thread, sail cloth, tow cloth, white and checked shirtings, sheetings, toweling, table linen, bed ticks, hosiery, sewing thread, and some thread lace, are the articles manufactured of these raw materials. Nearly the whole of the hemp and flax are now of native growth; and as they are productions of every state, the fabrics made of them are peculiarly interesting. This circumstance gives breadth and solidity to the foundation of the linen branch, and to all others to which it is common.

III.

Manufactures of iron form a very increasing and useful branch. Under this head, the article of nails deserves particular notice, being brought to the footing of a domestic manufacture in several of the states. The other fabrics, made of this raw material, are steel, sheet iron, nail rods, wheel tire, hoops, weights, stoves, pots and other castings, scale beams, plough irons, hoes, and other farming utensils, the iron and steel work for pleasurable and working carriages, and for ship-building, anchors, household utensils of various kinds, screw presses, some saws and planes, axes and other utensils for artisans and manufacturers, and *arms* of various kinds. It is reasonable to conclude that the manufacture of military articles has become

inconsiderable during the existing peace. The abundance of mill seats, ore and fuel in the United States, a most extensive demand, and the heavy charges of importation, are among the circumstances which have given a respectable establishment to the iron manufactories.*

IV.

Manufactures of wool and mixtures thereof with cotton and flax, form another branch of peculiar importance, from their being principally the productions of domestic industry, at times and seasons which can be spared from other occupations. These are broad and narrow cloths, chiefly common or coarse; coatings, casimers, ferges, flannels, hosiery, some blankets, linsey woolsey, and negro cloth in very large quantities, coverlets and counterpanes, mens' and boys' hats, a few carpets, fringe, cord and tassels. This raw material will eventually prove universal in the United States, and is already found in every state.

The four preceding branches may be thrown into the first class, in regard to present importance, and are established in *a considerable degree*. They are increasing rapidly, and particularly the three

* The Indian war and the renewal of our militia system has greatly revived the manufacture of arms. A. D. 1793.

first, from the facility of procuring very large quantities of the requisite raw materials, the introduction of various new implements and machinery, the abundance of fuel, lime, bark, and other articles employed in their manufacture. The latter is steadily progressive in quantity, and has improved rapidly within the last two years.

V.

Manufactures of cotton, and mixtures thereof with flax and hemp, as also with wool, constitute a growing and very promising branch. In several of the states, factories of this raw material have been commenced. Very considerable quantities of goods are made of it, in the household way, and particularly in the southern states of all of which it is a production. The articles usually made are corduroys, velverets, jeans, fustians and plain and striped cloths, for womens' use, hosiery, thread, fringe, cord and tassels, counterpanes and coverlets, candlewick, and, when mixed with wool, very large quantities of negro cloth. Connected with this branch is the business of callico printing, in which some promising attempts have been made.

VI.

Ships and boats, with their numerous and requisite appertenances, constitute a branch much less valuable in money than the preceding; but considering how necessary they are to agriculture and ma-

nufactures, as well as to commerce and the fisheries, they appear to be of primary importance. These are constructed upon the most favourable terms, and with great perfection.

VII.

Papers of all kinds, form a very beneficial branch, of considerable and increasing extent. The species made are paper hangings, playing cards, pasteboards, fullers or press papers, sheathing and wrapping paper, writing and printing paper of various kinds and qualities, except the largest and most costly. Appertenant to this branch is the very increasing and highly useful business of *book printing*. From the abundance of mill-seats, and the respectable establishment of the paper manufactory in some of the states, it is manifest, that a much more considerable saving or gain might be derived to the country, with the requisite attention to the preservation of the old and otherwise useless materials.

VIII.

Sugars refined in various degrees, form a branch so perfectly established as to require little attention, but to the acquisition of the raw material.

IX.

Cabinet wares and turnery, both of the simplest and most elegant kinds, are made in quantities com-

menfurate with the demand, as well of native as foreign materials. Connected with these in some degree, is the manufacture of many kinds of musical instruments, which has gained a footing within a few years, that promises an establishment adequate to the occasions of the United States. Other manufactures of wood are made in great quantities, such as coopers' wares, corn fans, and other implements of husbandry, almost every species of mill work, and lately the most valuable and curious manufacturing machinery in various branches.

X.

Wares of the precious metals, (gold and silver) including set work, and jewellery, are made in great variety and extent. The latest addition to this branch is the manufacturing of plated ware, which, however, is not yet considerable or established.

XI.

Manufactures of the mixed metals and of lead and copper, have obtained various degrees of establishment. Those of brass are the most extensive; and, combined with iron and wood, there is a considerable variety. Household utensils, technical and philosophical instruments and apparatus, furniture and materials for houses and carriages, and for the building and furnishing of ships, a few barrels and

some furniture of fire arms, are manufactured of brass. Pewter and hard metal are very much confined to family utensils, distillers worms, printing types, and buttons. The last article is made with great neatness and variety in a few shops. Lead is worked into ball, sheets, and every form requisite for the building and finishing of houses and vessels, and for the linings and coverings of wood, which is exposed to water. Successful attempts to manufacture leaden shot of various sizes, have been made.

Copper wares of various kinds, are made in the United States. These are utensils for distillers, sugar refiners, brewers, and other manufacturers, and for domestic and ship use, articles to be applied in the building of vessels, and in short, all those things which are requisite to useful and ordinary purposes.

Tin wares, for military and all other useful purposes, are well manufactured.

XII.

Manufactures from fruits, grain and seeds, are very considerable. Of the first, distilled spirits are the whole. Of such liquors from apples, the quantity is large; of those from peaches, it is much less, but the quality, when the liquor is matured, is exquisite: both are increasing. Of the manufactures from grain and seeds (exclusive

of meal of all kinds and biscuit) there is a greater value. These are distilled spirits, malt liquors, starch, hair powder, wafers and oil. These articles could be made in quantities commensurate with the demand; and the several branches are well understood.

XIII.

The manufacture of gunpowder, has advanced with the greatest rapidity to the point of desire in regard both to quantity and quality. The hazards and expenses of importation, the cheapness of charcoal, of the requisite packages, and of mill seats and mill works, in the United States, are among the principal causes, which have produced so accelerated a progress.

XIV.

Manufactures of glass, of earthen ware, and of stone, mixed with clay, are all in an infant state. From the quantity and variety of the materials which must have been deposited by nature in so extensive a region as the United States, from the abundance of fuel which they contain, from the expense of importation, and loss by fracture, which falls on on glass and earthen wares, from the simplicity of many of these manufactures, and from the great consumption of them, impressions of surprise at this state of them, and a firm persuasion that they will receive the early attention of foreign or American capitalists, are at once produced. Coarse

tiles, and bricks of an excellent quality, potters' wares, all in quantities beyond the home consumption, a few ordinary vessels and utensils of stone mixed with clay, some mustard and snuff bottles, a few flasks or flaggons, a small quantity of sheet glass and of vessels for family use, generally of the inferior kinds, are all that are yet made.

XV.

Manufactures from the fat and bones of sea and land animals, form a class of considerable importance. These are the several kinds of oil, soap, spermaceti and tallow candles, articles made of whalebone, sal ammoniac, and volatile salt.

In addition to the above branches or classes, there are manufactured, (besides the quantities requisite for the home demand) a considerable value for exportation, of the following miscellaneous articles—pot ashes and pearl ashes, chewing and smoking tobacco and snuff, cheese, working and pleasureable carriages, Windsor and varnished chairs, oil of turpentine and rosin, wool and cotton cards, and other implements and utensils for manufacturing; and a large value for home consumption of fur hats, brushes for domestic and technical purposes, whips and canes, manufactures of horn, mill stones and hewn stone, lampblack, ochres and other painters' colours, some galenical and chemical preparations, clocks and watches, wearing apparel, and a few manufactures of silk.

[PAPER A.]

Schedule of the whole number of persons within the several districts of the United States, according to an act "providing for the enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States," passed March the 1st, 1790.

DISTRICTS.	Free white males of sixteen years and upwards, including heads of families.	Free white males under sixteen years.	Free white females, including heads of families.	All other free persons.	Slaves.	Total.
* Vermont,	22,435	22,328	40,505	252	16	85,539
New-Hampshire,	36,086	34,851	70,160	630	158	141,185
{ Maine,	24,384	24,748	46,870	538	none.	96,540
{ Massachusetts,	95,453	87,289	190,582	5,463	none.	378,787
Rhode-Island,	16,019	15,799	32,652	3,407	948	68,825
Connecticut,	60,523	54,403	117,448	2,808	2,764	237,946
New-York,	83,700	78,122	152,320	4,654	21,324	340,120
New-Jersey,	45,251	41,416	83,287	2,762	11,453	184,139
Pennsylvania,	110,788	106,948	206,363	6,537	3,737	434,373
Delaware,	11,783	12,143	22,384	3,809	8,887	59,094
Maryland,	55,915	51,339	101,395	8,043	103,036	319,728
{ Virginia,	110,936	116,135	215,046	12,866	292,627	747,610
{ Kentucky,	15,154	17,057	28,922	114	12,430	73,677
North-Carolina,	69,988	77,506	140,710	4,975	100,572	393,751
South-Carolina,						249,073
Georgia,	13,103	14,044	25,739	398	29,264	82,548
	Free white males of twenty years and upwards, including heads of families.	Free males under twenty-one years of age.	Free white females, including heads of families.	All other free persons.	Slaves.	Total.
S. W. Territory,	6,271	10,277	15,365	361	3,417	35,691
N. W. Territory†.						

Truly stated from the original returns deposited in the office of the Secretary of State.

October 24, 1791.

TH: JEFFERSON.

* This return was not signed by the marshal, but was inclosed and referred to in a letter written and signed by him.

† The population of the north western government is supposed to be a few thousands, exclusively of the military. (Note by Editor.)

[PAPER B.]

Abstract of the exports of the United States, from the commencement of the custom-houses in the several states, which was at different times in August, 1789, to the 30th day of September, 1790.

E X P O R T E D.

	Quantity.		Value.
ASHES, pot,	7,050 $\frac{1}{100}$ tons,	dolls.	661,634
Ashes, pearl,	1,548 $\frac{5}{100}$ do.		177,459. 50
Apples,	5,898 barrels,		6,318
Boats,	8		372
Bombshells,	10 tons,		100
Bricks,	870,550		2,617. 50
Beer and porter,	472 casks,		4,612
Brandy	97 do.		3,016
Cordials,	236 boxes,		637
Cordage			5,739
Carriages,	220		28,017
Candles, tallow,	149,680 lbs.		14,876
Candles wax	5,274 do.		2,461
Candles, myrtle,	249 do.		52
Cider,	442 barrels,		849
Cotton,	2,027 bales,		58,408
Coffee,	254,752 lbs.		45,753
Chocolate,	29,882 do.		3,537
Cocoa,	10,632 do.		950
Cassia and cinnamon,	9,392 do.		9,715
Deer Skins,			33,009
Duck, American,	77 bolts,		777
Duck, Russia,	220 do.		2,200
Earthen and glass ware,			1,990
Essence spruce,	115 boxes,		600
Flaxseed,	40,019 casks,		236,072
Flax	21,970 lbs.		1,468
Furs,			60,515
Furniture,			8,315

dolls.

<i>Fishery.</i>			
{ Fish, dried,	378,721	quintals,	828,531
{ Fish, pickled,	36,840	barrels,	113,165
{ Oil, whale,	15,765	do.	124,908
{ Oil, spermaceti,	5,431	do.	79,542
{ Candles, do.	70,397	lbs.	27,724
{ Whalebone,	121,281	do.	20,417
<i>Grain.</i>			
{ Buckwheat,	7,562	busshels,	2,572
{ Corn,	2,102,137	do.	1,083,581
{ Oats,	98,842	do.	20,900
{ Rye,	21,765	do.	13,181
{ Wheat,	1,124,458	do.	1,398,998
Ginseng,	813	casks,	47,024
Gunpowder,	5,800	lbs.	861
Gin,	18,025	galls.	16,989
Grindstones,	203		450
Hairpowder,	12,534	lbs.	1,687
Hats,	668		1,392
Hay	2,126	tons,	12,851
Horns,			1,052
Ironmongery,			7,878
Iron, pig,	3,555	tons,	91,379
Iron, bar,	200	do.	16,723
Indigo,	612,119	lbs.	537,379
<i>Live stock.</i>			
{ Horned cattle,	5,406		99,960
{ Horses,	8,628		339,516
{ Mules,	237		8,846
{ Sheep,	10,058		17,039
{ Hogs,	5,304		14,481
{ Poultry,	3,704	doz.	6,263
<i>Lumber.</i>			
{ Staves & heading,	36,402,301		463,229
{ Shingles,	67,331,115		120,151
{ Shook hogheads,	52,558		32,002
{ Hoops,	1,908,310		19,598
{ Boards,	46,747,730		260,213
{ Handspikes,	2,361	doz.	1,505
{ Casks,	2,423		3,697
{ Scantling,	8,719,638	feet,	95,308
{ Lumber diff. kinds.		feet,	128,503
{ Timber do.		do.	139,328
Leather,	22,698	lbs.	5,302
Logwood,	264	tons,	3,911
Lignum vitæ,	176	do.	1,760

			dolls.
Lead and shot,	6	do.	810
Mahogany,			18,531
Medicines and drugs,			1,735
Merchandize,			28,156
Molasses,	15,537	gallons,	3,904
Muskets,	100		500
Nankeens,	11	bales,	2,315
Oil, linseed,	119	barrels,	1,962
<i>Provisions.</i>			
Flour,	724,623	barrels,	4,591,293
Bread,	75,667	do.	209,674
Meal,	99,973	do.	302,694
Peas and beans,	38,752	bush.	25,746
Beef,	44,662	barrels,	279,551
Pork,	24,462	do.	208,099
Hams and bacon,	253,555	lbs.	19,728
Butter,	8,379	firkins,	48,587
Cheese,	144,734	lbs.	8,830
Potatoes,	5,318	barrels,	6,009
Tongues,	641	do.	1,598
Onions, vegetables,			22,936
Hogs lard,	6,355	firkins,	31,475
Honey,	165	do.	990
Oysters, pickled,	272	kegs,	272
Pimento,	715	bags,	4,928
Pepper,	6,100	lbs.	1,440
Paper,	169	reams,	381
Paint,	4,650	lbs.	963
Pitch,	8,175	barrels,	17,488
Raw hides,	230		485
Raw silk,	177	lbs.	489
Rosin,	361	barrels,	778
Rice,	100,845	tierces,	1,753,796
Rum, American,	370,331	galls.	135,403
Rum, West-India,	12,623	do.	5,795
Raisins,	213	casks,	1,205
Salt,	31,935	bushels,	8,236
Sago,	2,319	lbs.	455
Soap,	597	boxes,	3,967
Snuff,	15,350	lbs.	5,609
Seeds and roots,			2,135
Shoes and boots,	5,862	pairs,	5,741
Sadlery,			5,541
Starch,			1,125
Sugar, loaf,	16,429	lbs.	3,432

			dolls.
Sugar, brown,	33,358	do.	2,237
Sassafras,	49,504	do.	555
Steel,	163	bundles,	978
Stones, sawed,	170		550
Tallow,	200,020	lbs.	20,722
Tobacco,	118,460	hhds.	4,349,567
Tea,	1,672	chefts,	121,582
Tar,	85,067	barrels,	126,116
Turpentine,	28,326	do.	72,541
Do. spirits,	193	do.	1,032
Tow cloth,	67	pieces,	1,274
Vinegar,	24	casks,	106
Wines,	1,074	pipes,	83,249
Wax,	231,158	lbs.	57,597
			<hr/>
To the North-West coast of America,			20,194,794
Amount of several returns received }			10,362
since the 15th February 1791. }			210,810 84
			<hr/>
<i>Total,</i>			* 20,415,966.84
			<hr/>

* Quarterly returns, from several small districts, are deficient

*A summary of the value and destination of the exports of the United States,
agreeably to the foregoing abstract.*

	Dollars.
To the dominions of France, — —	4,698,735.48
To the dominions of Great-Britain, —	9,363,416.47
To the dominions of Spain, —	2,005,907.16
To the dominions of Portugal, —	1,283,462
To the dominions of the United Netherlands,	1,963,880. 9
To the dominions of Denmark, —	224,415.50
To the dominions of Sweden, — —	47,240
To Flanders, — — —	14,298
To Germany, — — —	487,187.14
To the Mediterranean, — —	41,298
To the African islands and coast of Africa,	139,984
To the East-Indies, — —	135,181
To the North-West coast of America, —	10,392
	<hr/>
	Dollars, 20,415,966.84
	<hr/>

In addition to the foregoing, a considerable number of packages have been exported from the United States, the value of which being omitted in the returns from the custom-houses, could not be introduced into this abstract.

TENCH COXE, *Assistant Secretary.*

Treasury department, }
Feb. 18th, 1791. }

CHAPTER IX.

REFLEXIONS ON THE STATE OF THE AMERICAN UNION IN
THE YEAR M,DCC,XCII.

THE apparent prosperity of the United States, in the beginning of the year 1792, was attended with serious doubts in the minds of many respectable citizens, about particular matters, some of which are always of importance to the happiness of a people, and others of which are considered as peculiarly interesting to this country. A concise examination into *the general state of the union* appeared to promise satisfactory explanations of many of these doubts. The reflections, which enter into the composition of this chapter, were sincerely intended to answer that desirable end. They may contain some errors of fact, and more of opinion and judgment. Yet as there are comprized in them many truths, drawn from sources, which cannot be materially erroneous, and as the opinions have been tested in some degree by subsequent experience and reflection, it is presumed that a republication of them may tend to inform, at least the foreign world. It is certain, that we do not exhibit any obvious symptoms of a wrong balance of trade, that the expediency of manufactures is rising in the estimation of the cultivators, that our exports and ship-building are increasing, that the property of emigrators contributes to swell and fully to counter-balance any apparent excess of our imports, that our aggregate revenue continues to exceed the esti-

mates, that every good plan requiring capital, which is set on foot derives it quickly from the confidence of our monied citizens or from foreigners, and in short, that the United States are in reality the comfortable original, which is depicted in the following section.

Reflections on the State of the Union

“ Si quid novisti rectius istis,
“ Candidus imperti; si non his utere mecum,”

S E C T I O N I.

DISPASSIONATE enquiries concerning the public interests, are attended with salutary effects, in every time and in every nation. In a country like that, which we inhabit, such examinations are unufally interesting, and may be rendered, it is believed, peculiarly beneficial.

To create the disposition requisite to the proper acceptation of such disquisitions, it is necessary to call to the public mind the variant characters of the several states, when they were provinces of a more extended empire—the causes which produced that difference of character—the means which were devised to increase and perpetuate that variation and the ends to which those characteristic differences were intended to be instrumental. Reflections, duly serious, upon these circumstances will remind the people of the several states, that they are naturally friends, whose amity and

union have been too often viewed with jealousy by rival eyes. They will perceive the wisdom and the high duty of cultivating a spirit of mutual allowance and concession; and a careful examination of their actual situation will convince them, that greater blessings will result from a perfect understanding, and sedulous cultivation of their interests at home, than from almost any arrangements, which the conceptions of foreign nations will probably lead them to propose, or adopt.

The consideration of our present situation and of some interesting circumstances which have grown out of it, are the object of this investigation, in which the benefits to be derived from a liberal intercourse with foreign nations will not be undervalued. As no apology is necessary for such an endeavour, a miscellaneous enquiry into several matters, which are always deeply interesting to nations, and into others which have resulted from our public operations, will be prosecuted without further introduction.

CONCERNING THE EXPORTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

It has been apprehended by persons of observation, at home, and the idea has prevailed in the councils of a foreign nation,* that the exports of

* See the report of a committee of the lords of the British privy council, published in the gazettes (of March) in Charleston, South-Carolina.—American grain has progressively advanced by equable

the United States for the year preceding October, 1790, were greater in value than could be expected again, by reason of the prices for grain which were consequent on the scarcity in France. The exports of the subsequent year will aid us in testing this opinion, which attracts the more attention, because it is sometimes suggested that agriculture and trade have been injured by the measures of the general government in regard to the public debt. The first return of exports, on which this conjecture was founded, includes a term of thirteen months and a half, and amounts to 20,415,966 dollars. From this aggregate value a ninth part is to be deducted, to equalize it with one years exportation, which reduces the sum to 18,147,526 dollars. It is very well known, that the prices of our produce through the year lately returned, and which ended with September 1791, had fallen to their antecedent rates, and it will be perceived on a comparison, that our exports exceeded in their aggregate

and considerable steps, in the last fifty years. The causes of this rise are the increase of shipping, particularly American; the introduction of foreign shipping, the increase of manufacturers in Europe and America, the increase of mills, particularly in America, the increase of distillation and brewing in America, the accumulation of mercantile capital in America, the increase of commerce among all nations, the fullness of population in the European states, which formerly exported grain, and the increase of the circulating medium of the world by mines, banks and bills of exchange. In 1737 wheat was sold for one-third of a dollar in the principal grain ports of the United States: in 1771, 1772, 1773, and 1774, it sold on a medium for near three quarters of a dollar; and in the years 1792, 1793, and 1794, it has sold on a medium for more than a dollar.

value those of the former year. The last return, exclusively of two quarters of Charleston was

dollars 17,571,551

Those two quarters, at the rate
of the corresponding term in the
preceding year, would be about 700,000

dollars 18,271,551*

There remains not, therefore, the least cause to doubt, that our total exportations were eighteen millions and a quarter, and consequently more than in the antecedent year. It is to be observed too that the high prices which were current through the time of the first return, must have produced an exportation of all the grain that could be carried to market, and none of the old crop could have been left as usual, to sell with the new. The obvious effect of this must have been an unusual deduction from the exports in the following year. The valuation of the exports of these states immediately before the revolution is not precisely ascertained: but the whole exportations from North-America, including the remaining colonies, and Newfoundland, Bermuda, and the Bahamas, were computed to have been in 1771, 15,280,000 dollars. In these were comprised the shipments between those islands

* The exports of the year ending on the 30th September, 1792, are 21,000,000 of dollars. See return thereof in chapter 12. Those of the following year exceeded 26,000,000.

and the main, and from province to province as every vessel, which departed from one American port, to another, was obliged to clear out her cargo, as if destined for a foreign country. It will appear to be safe to subtract for the difference produced by these two circumstances, one half of the former exports, when it is remembered that nearly two-thirds of the quantity of tonnage is probably employed in the intercourse between the various parts of the present union, which is engaged in that with foreign nations; and that the British Newfoundland fishery alone, was estimated at more than 2,200,000 dollars in 1775. The increase of the tonnage employed in the foreign trade affords another proof of the increment of our exports. About 330,000 tons were laden in the present United States in the year 1770, part of which were destined for ports now within the union. About 600,000 tons have been loaded in each of the two last years for foreign ports, though our exports being in a much greater degree manufactured, are now contained in a smaller proportionate compass: and boards, scantling and staves, which are our most bulky commodities, have not increased in half the ratio of the tonnage employed.

An addition may be also made to the amount of the return for the increased supplies in provisions, cordage, and other materials, for the use and outfit of foreign ships, both of war and trade. Since the prices of salt provisions have been reduced below those of Ireland, and many articles applicable to

ships' use, have been manufactured here, this item has become very considerable; and so far as the articles are sold to foreigners, they are essentially exports.

Under this head, the increased number of ships sold to foreign nations, may be fairly mentioned, and though much has been said of the number formerly disposed of abroad, it is not doubted that a greater value was sold in that way in the time of the last return. Of this fact some further illustration will probably be given in the sequel. It will be sufficient to observe here, that the whole quantity of tonnage built and native vessels repaired during the last year, exceeds in value one million of dollars.

The enlarged consumption made within our country by foreign persons of every description, who are certainly much more numerous than they formerly were, is as profitable to the country, as the same value in exports would have been. This item will appear to be very considerable, when the expenditures of foreign ministers, consuls, transient and resident foreigners, fleets and seamen, are called to mind.

The export trade of the United States and the great increase of home consumption have placed the American producers in general on a very advantageous footing. The competition which exists in our markets, between the purchasers for the account of foreigners of various nations, for our own merchants, for the great consumption in the

sea-ports and the parts adjacent to the coasts, and for the use of the manufacturers, together with the occasional shipments made on their own accounts by the southern planters, by the millers of the middle states, and by the owners of the eastern fishing vessels, afford the cultivators and fishermen so many alternatives, that they can always obtain the best prices, which circumstances will justify. In short, these several demands, at once steady, extensive and various, efficiently support our agriculture: and though peculiar enterprize and faculties in commerce and manufactures, the power of capital, and an intimate knowledge of our trade and interior system, enable a particular nation to participate largely in the exports of the United States, the remainder of the world receives from us a very considerable value, and the variety of demand, which the destination of our exports proves to exist, affords us certain relief from the consequences of the commercial errors of any of those countries, whose citizens are our consumers. Whenever such errors shall occur—or so far as they may have already taken place, to diffuse a knowledge of our resources among all nations, to inspire them with confidence in our laws and modes of dealing, and to convert our commodities by manufactures, into every shape, which there occasions and our own may require, will prove a competent and efficacious corrective.

It is satisfactory to observe the regular increase of manufactured goods in our returns of exported

commodities. The number in each of the two last years is upwards of one third, in a list which amounts to near three hundred articles. Hence we may infer, that *the time is really arrived, when foreign trade is increased and enlivened by home manufactures.* This idea, together with the domestic commerce produced by them, will be more particularly noticed in another place.

CONCERNING THE MANUFACTURES OF THE UNITED STATES.

In considering this subject it will be unnecessary to adduce many arguments to influence the judgment of the eastern parts of the union. Many of our citizens near the sea-coast of the middle states are equally convinced of the beneficial effects of manufactures. The cultivators in the southern and western country, and a respectable proportion of our mercantile citizens are apprehensive of injury to themselves and to their country from the pursuit of this object. These are two descriptions of persons, whom it is in every view our duty to satisfy, if the truth and reason will permit ; and it is principally from a due attention to them, that the subject is proposed to be examined here.

An opinion has prevailed that the southern states will be sacrificed to the eastern, and in some degree to the middle states, by the plan of manufactures. It is plain, however, that as the soil of the eastern states is not equal to the production of a sufficiency of provisions and raw materials for their own use, they must resort to the middle and

southern states for several raw materials and for new supplies of provisions. It is known, too, that some valuable articles for manufactures cannot be produced but in the southern states, such as cotton, indigo, and rice*, and that tobacco is almost confined to them. The southern states and western country will have considerable advantages in the support, which the home market of the manufacturers will give at all times, and especially in time of war, (when freights will be high, and shipping scarce) to their agricultural and landed productions. Even now, in profound peace, it is the case. Hemp was delivered in the ports of the middle states, from the lands of the southern states, at less than five cents per lb. in 1791. Nothing would have kept it up to that rate, but the rope and twine manufactories of the middle and eastern states, and those which are growing up among themselves. The brewers of Philadelphia draw nearly as much of their barley from the Chesapeake as they derive from the lands of Pennsylvania. These and other facts show the beneficial beginning of things. The manufactures of ships and cordage throughout the Union, procure from the southern nearly states all their tar, pitch, turpentine, oil of turpentine, and rosin. The ports of Philadelphia and New-York, take three-fourths of their ship timber from them, justly preferring vessels of live oak and red cedar to all

* Rice is the raw material for the East-Indian spirit *arrack*, and it is necessary for a particular quality of starch used by the European manufacturers.

others. The owners of the coal mines of Virginia, enjoy the monopoly of all the supplies for the manufacturers of the more northern states, who live in the sea ports: a demand which is increasing rapidly. No lead mine of any consequence is yet worked, except one near the superior waters of James river. The southern states abound with iron, and have much more fuel of all kinds than the northern states, and they have streams for the most powerful water works. Few or no very abundant deposits of coal have been yet discovered further north or east than the waters of the Ohio and the Chesapeake, even in internal situations. The iron manufactures of the United States are already important in value, and immensely so in point of utility, or rather of *necessity*. Buildings, farms, manufactories, shipping, fisheries, fleets, and armies, all demand them. In short the all-important landed interest would languish, and its progress in prosperity would be retarded in the counties of the southern states, even near the sea, if our present manufactures were to be abolished, and all future establishments of that kind were to be given up. *But their inland and western counties cannot flourish unless manufactures shall be promoted and introduced among them.* In the counties of Pennsylvania beyond the Allegany mountain, are 63,000 inhabitants, and probably 10,000 of these are farmers. The *wool* of that country is yet very inconsiderable—their furs are more abundant. From these two raw materials, no less than 10,140 wool hats,

and 2,200 fur hats are manufactured yearly in thirty three hatters' shops. Sail cloth (which, when manufactured, would be worth 30 cents per lb.) could be made at Pittsburg, Winchester in Virginia, Hillsborough, and Salisbury, in North-Carolina, Camden, in South-Carolina, and Lewisville, in Georgia, out of hemp, the value of which, there, does not exceed 4 or 5 cents. To bring a ton of hemp to the sea-ports from those towns, except Lewisville, costs from 35 to 40 per cent. of its value. To bring a ton weight of sail cloth from the same places to the same ports would not cost above 6 or 8 per cent. and the manufacturers' provisions and fuel are attended with similar savings. Deduct for a moment the demand of foreign commerce from Alexandria and Winchester, and the latter would appear to be most vigorous and flourishing; because it manufactures more, having not so high a market for its provisions and raw materials. These observations apply with equal force to the whole state of Vermont and to all our interior counties. The nation that supplies us with hempen, flaxen, and iron manufactures, takes immense quantities of hemp, flax, and iron from Russia. These Russian raw materials are purchased at the eastern extremity of the Baltic, are transported to another foreign country and manufactured there, are brought hither, and hauled through bad roads, 50, 100, 200, and 300 miles into our most productive counties, which yield the requisite raw materials. These facts powerfully incite us to foster manufactures of the

same kinds, there and elsewhere. Till that shall be the case, we shall continue to drag those raw materials through the same bad roads, and ship them under charges of carting and freight equal to a third, an half, and two thirds of their value, according to the distance. Neglecting and repelling the establishment of manufactures, would occasion immense deductions from the profits of our lands ; and due consideration, it is believed, would convince us, that the best interests, nay the necessities of our landholders require the introduction of some kind of manufactory in almost every vicinity.

The countries south of Pennsylvania are remarkably rich in fossils. Coal, copper, iron, lead, and other minerals are found in either Maryland, Virginia, North or South-Carolina, or Georgia, or all of them. Mineral appearances occur every where. The promotion of manufactures is necessary to draw these forth ; and as they have immense forests of wood, and the most powerful mill-streams, there can be no doubt, that they will be brought into use, as soon as those means shall be adopted.

The family manufactures of the middle and interior counties of Virginia, North-Carolina, and the interior counties of Georgia, South-Carolina, and Maryland, are said to be greater in value, than the articles of foreign manufactures, which they use ; and were they universally awake to the facility, profits, and national importance of this mode of manufacturing, they might extend it much further,

without impeding their farming operations, while, at the same time, they would provide a new use for their agricultural productions.

A single state, Pennsylvania, has upwards of fifty paper mills, which work up materials of no value. The manufactures from those mills are computed at two hundred and fifty thousand dollars—the persons employed in them do not exceed one hundred and fifty, or two hundred. That state contains about one ninth of the people of the United States, and their contributions to the expenses of the government and the interest of the public debt, are consequently about 400,000 dollars. Their paper mills, therefore, indemnify them for five-eighths of their quota ! It appears to be the duty of government to encourage the people in all the states to do the same, especially as it can be done by *water-means*, and not by men diverted from their farms. The southern states do not want a capacity * for this manufacture, which has acquired an establishment in Maryland, and has appeared as far to the southward as North-Carolina.

It may be safely affirmed, that the manufactures of *leather* in the United States exceed in value *all our annual burdens*. We import few or no shoes.

* They wear cotton and linen more than the northern states, whose climate requires more woollens. Out of the rags of the former paper is made. Out of woollen rags it has not yet been found practicable.

In each of the two last years we have procured from abroad no more than 70,000 pair of shoes and boots, for 4,000,000 of people. If we use only one pair and a half per annum per person, at seventy-five cents, they will amount to 4,500,000 dollars, which exceeds every demand of the general and state governments.† The hides, skins, bark, lime, thread, bristles, and wax, nay, the very heel-pegs, are all drawn from our lands and farms. Recollecting this, and similar facts, we cannot question the utility of *even handicraft* manufactures to the farmers, planters, and landed interest. If the manufacture of shoes in this country, were abolished, our annual debt to foreign countries would be increased to an amount equal to all our public contributions. Similar observations might be made on several other articles, and to a much greater extent on linen, cotton, and woollen fabrics. Cattle thrive with little attention in the mild winters of the south. That region being more woody, they have a greater quantity of bark than most of the other states.

The manufactures of wool in Great-Britain have been stated by their ministers at £.16,800,000 sterling—and the simple manufactures of liquors in that country are said to consume twenty-five millions of bushels of grain. Were there no other proofs, we could not doubt the importance of manufactures to the agriculture of that country. They nourish and

† A. D. 1791—2.

support it. We make up all our wool—our lands produce cotton with great facility, and we manufacture liquors as easily as Britain. There is no doubt, that the latter branch already affords to our farmers an *annual market* for 1,500,000 bushels of grain. This manufacture is well understood and carried on in all the southern states.

The objection, that manufactures take the people from agriculture, is not solid as elsewhere observed; since women, children, horses, water, and fire, all work at manufactures, and perform four-fifths of the labour; and as many manufacturers migrate to the United States, it may be fairly asserted that the *quantity* of agricultural industry is *increased* by the impulse and demand arising from manufactures. It may be reasonably asked, whether a farmer does not raise *the more* cotton, flax, hemp, and wool, because his wife and daughters *spin* and *weave* them, or because a water-work spins for them?

The employment of the new medium, the public certificates (which may be taken at £.15,000,000 sterling) in a country that formerly had not £.3,000,000 sterling of medium, renders manufactures necessary at this time. It may be said, lands will employ it. But farms sold well at the time when £.3,000,000 sterling was probably the utmost extent of our medium, and cannot therefore give employment to the additional twelve millions, though they might to a part of it. The first appli-

cation of this capital is intended to be made to the manufacturing of cotton, which is peculiar to the southern states. This is one method by which those states will be benefited by even that part of the public debt, which they do not own. On this important point more will be said hereafter. It merits the most close attention and the most temperate consideration.

More money is employed in manufactures, than in foreign commerce, because the gross value of exported articles is much less than the gross value of manufactured articles. This will not be doubted, when it is remembered, that shoes alone amount to several millions of dollars. These manufactures cannot therefore be deemed less important to the southern landholders than foreign commerce; and those proprietors will not be disposed to neglect foreign commerce, nor will they consider it as irrelative to their particular or local interests.

S E C T I O N II.

CONCERNING THE MANUFACTURES OF THE UNITED STATES.

IN pursuing the consideration of American manufactures as beneficial and necessary to the southern states, it will be useful to take a cursory view of the indications of attachment and disposition to them, which are discoverable in that quarter.

Virginia appears to be making a greater *progress* in merchant mills than any state in the union, though some are yet far before her in those beneficial works. Maryland and Delaware which are in the southern moiety, are second only to Pennsylvania in this branch.* There is little doubt that more *pig and bar iron* is made to the southward of Pennsylvania, than to the northward of it. A lead mine has been opened in Virginia, which is extending its supplies through the union, and promises fair to be commensurate with the present demand: and there is one which is now worked, in the territory south of the Ohio. But no lead mines are in considerable operation in the states north or east of Virginia, though a small beginning upon one in the western parts of Pennsylvania is made. An association in Virginia, another in the territory south of the Ohio, and a company in the western district of South-Carolina, have provided themselves with carding and spinning machinery on the British plans to manufacture their *native* cotton. The planters, in the southern states raise quantities of this raw material, unthought of before the war, and until the discussions of the subject of manufactures, which took place some time after the treaty of peace. The family manufactures in *cotton* are much greater in the four southernmost states, than in the four eastern states. There are not wanting considerable numbers of *sheep* in the five south-

* New-York it is conceived, ought to pay more attention to the milling business.

ern states, yet by the two returns of exports, it appears that no *wool* has been sent *from thence* to foreign markets. It has been common to receive wool in Pennsylvania from the eastern states, though they manufacture so much, but it is not known that any is ever received there for sale from the southern states. Wool has been transported to Salem, in North-Carolina, and to Winchester, in Virginia, from the city of Philadelphia, for the hat manufactory.

There has been full as great a current of emigration of *flour millers, blacksmiths, tanners, hatters, cabinet-makers, distillers, coopers, &c.* to the southern states from those north of them, in proportion to numbers, as of farmers; so that the workshops of the middle and northern states yield a double benefit to their fellow-citizens in the south, in supplying them with manufactures, and artizans.

There is greater *variety* in distillation in the four southern states than in the four eastern—that is, *the manufactory is established on a broader basis.* It is also more *certain* in the south than in the north. In the latter, molasses is the principal ingredient and being from an external source, may be lost to the eastern distillers. Their manufactory is even now at hazard, unless they resort to the grain of the country to the southward of them. But in the southern states they manufacture spirits from molasses, peaches, apples, several kinds of grain, and probably will, as their country is cleared, extend

it to *the grape*. This has been tried with success in the experimental way, at Galliopolis, near the Scioto. The distillation of arack from rice will probably be commenced if that grain should ever fall in price.

The legislature of North-Carolina made a loan of money since the late war to assist the introduction of the paper manufactory.

An association containing forty of the most respectable planters and farmers, in the western district of South-Carolina, has been established within a few years for the promoting of manufactures, and agriculture. A subscription to the amount of about 25,000 dollars, has been made in the territory south of the Ohio for the purpose of carrying on the cotton manufactory.—An indication of zeal not equalled in any middle or northern state, considering that the whole population of the government is 30,000 whites, and 5,000 blacks.

The preparation of tar, pitch, turpentine, spirits of turpentine, and rosin, in North-Carolina and its vicinity, may be deemed a manufacture as justly as the making of linseed oil, pot ash, or ordinary tanning. A very small quantity indeed, of these articles, will, be made in the states north of Virginia because nature forbids; but they will, from obvious reasons, increase in the south.

During the existence of the state impost laws, two of the southern states (Maryland and Virginia)

imposed an extra tonnage, not only upon foreign ships but upon those of the other states, by which they evinced a strong disposition to encourage the *manufacture of ships*. The same two states laid duties on the importation of spirits manufactured in the other parts of the union.

The state of Maryland imposed considerable protecting duties to encourage their own manufactures. The legislature of Maryland have encouraged the glass manufactory in that state by a considerable loan. That of Virginia passed a special act since the peace, to encourage the manufactory of snuff and tobacco.

There are more factories of *cordage and cables* in two of the southern states, (Maryland and Virginia) than in any two of the states of New-Jersey, New-York, Connecticut, and New-Hampshire. Virginia laid a duty of two-thirds of a dollar on cordage by her state impost law.

The important manufactory of ships has become greater in each of the three states of Maryland, Virginia, and North-Carolina, than it now is in New-Hampshire. The southern state of Maryland manufactured in 1790, as many vessels as any two of the northern states of New-York, Connecticut, and Rhode-Island.

The paper-mill in the United States, which is most remote from the sea, is to be found in the

town of Salem, in North-Carolina, three hundred miles from the ocean. No such manufactures as those of that village (a Moravian settlement) in the southern state of North-Carolina, exist in any part of the union north of Maryland, equally remote from the sea.

There are but two scenes in the Atlantic counties, in which coal, iron and waterfalls are yet found together in abundance. These scenes are therefore, peculiarly qualified for the iron branch of manufactures. The city of Richmond on the bank of James' river, in Virginia, which is one of the places contemplated, may be considered in a permanent view as having an incontestable natural advantage over any more northern *sea-port*, in this interesting branch. How profitable would it be to Virginia, were all her pig and bar iron passed under the tilt hammers, or through the rolling and flitting mills, which might be erected at that place.*

Some of the produce of the fisheries, as before observed, are to be deemed manufactures. The herring and shad (or river and bay) fisheries, south of Pennsylvania are very considerable. A barrel of herrings is worth, on a medium at the fishing places, 250 cents. The manufacture of the cask, the packing, curing, making pickle, and trimming,

* The existence of coal on the eastern boundary of Luzerne county, in Pennsylvania, and in the near parts of Northumberland, and in the westernmost parts of Northampton was not ascertained in 1791.

amount to more than one fourth of the sum or twenty five per cent. The cask and manufacturing of spirits distilled from molasses, does not amount to more than one sixth of the value of the commodity, or 16 2-3 per cent. A barrel of *pickled fish* of the southern states may be therefore as justly deemed a manufacture, as a cask of country rum. A similar comparison might be made between this article and several other simple manufactures of the middle and eastern parts of the union. It is not intended to discuss, at this time, the propriety of granting bounties, but if they were deemed proper grants, there are points of view in which the southern states would appear to have a much greater interest in them, than the eastern states.

1st. As the southern states cultivate *a greater variety of raw articles*—and are capable of producing *a much larger quantity* of them, all that extensive class of bounties, which are resolvable into an encouragement to the growth of the raw material, will be much more beneficial to them, than to the eastern states, which are more limited both in the kinds and quantities they can bring forward for the bounty.

2dly. The southern states having extensive and very rich interior and western counties, far from navigable rivers, (which the eastern have not) and the productions of those scenes being liable to a long and expensive land carriage, the bounty would

soon be found *to enable them to bring the simple manufactures and raw materials to the markets on the sea coasts*, which they would not, without the bounty, attempt to transport thither. This will not be deemed a mere suggestion of ingenuity, when it is remembered that the British and Irish give bounties on their fabrics, and even on the bulky articles of flour, grain, and biscuit, *to enable the exporter to deliver them with advantage in foreign markets.*

It is an obvious truth, that every thing is more valuable in proportion to the number and extent of its *uses*, or the purposes to which it can be advantageously applied. Flax, hemp, wool, silk, cotton, indigo, tobacco, hides, iron, wood, grain, and cattle, are valuable, where they are wanted merely as exports; but they manifestly acquire a *new* or *second* value, when wanted to employ, accommodate, or nourish manufacturers. In places from whence those articles cannot be exported, without a great expense of transportation, it is very desirable to give them this *second use*; but in situations too interior to be affected by the demand for exportation, and where of course they are not required for the purposes of external commerce, this new use *must* be created for them, or *they will not be produced*, and agriculture will consequently languish. *This view of the subject evinces the indispensable necessity of manufactures to the prosperity of the interior and western country as before intimated.* Nor will these ideas appear, on examination, to be

merely plausible conjectures. They are no less supported by the actual state of things, than by probability and reason. The towns of Washington, Pittsburg, Bedford, and Huntingdon, in Pennsylvania, (the nearest of which is 150 miles from a sea-port, exhibit the strongest proofs, that manufactures are the natural and best support of the interior landed interest, and are necessary at once to the accommodation, the comfort, and the prosperity of the cultivators of the middle and western country. The following table contains an account of the population of those villages, which is not exaggerated.

	Washington.	Pittsburg.	Bedford.	Huntingdon.
Clock and watchmakers,	1	1		
Silversmiths,	1			1
Coopers,	1	2	1	
Skin-dressers and breeches makers,	1	1		
Tanners and curriers,	1	2	1	
Tailors,	2		2	3
Cabinet makers,	2	4		2
Blacksmiths,	2	5	3	4
Shoemakers,	2	5	2	4
Hatters,	2	2	1	2
Dyers,	1			
Weavers,	2	2		2
Reedmakers,	1			
Saddlers,	1	3	2	2
Saddletree-makers,	1			
Spinningwheel-makers,	1			
Nailors,	1		1	
Maltsters and Brewers,	1	1		
Potters,	1			
Tinners,	1	2		
Distillers,	3		1	
Wheelrights,		3	1	2
Stocking-weavers,		1		1
Gunsmiths,	3			
Ropemakers,		1		
Whitesmiths,		2		
Total of manufacturers,	32	40	15	23
Total families,	* 130	130	40	85

It appears from this table, that in those county-towns (or seats of justice) in the interior and western parts of Pennsylvania, the necessity for manufactures has occasioned a little congregation of ar-

* The population of Washington is unknown but it is less than that of Pittsburg.

tizans, in the proportion of twenty-seven parts in one hundred, of the whole village in the smallest instance, and in the proportion of thirty seven parts in one hundred, in the largest. The town of Washington, which is the most remote, and is near to the Ohio, has been created since the late war. Its distance is about 300 miles west of Philadelphia. The variety of its manufactures is striking, and it may be safely affirmed, that at the seats of justice, in the counties of Delaware, Bucks, Chester, and Montgomery, which are nearest to Philadelphia, as great a number of manufactures, in proportion to their respective population, does not exist, though the family manufactures are much more considerable in these counties, and though they have very numerous tanneries, iron works, powder-mills, paper-mills, blacksmiths, hatters, shoemakers, weavers, and other valuable workmen, in their villages and scattered throughout their populous townships. This, however, is the case, in some degree, likewise in the townships of the western scene above described.

In the midland counties of Pennsylvania, many precious manufactures have resulted from a *flourishing agriculture*, and, immediately on their birth, have contributed to the prosperity of the cultivators. The borough of Lancaster, which is the largest inland town in the United States, is sixty-six miles from a seaport, and ten from any practised boat navigation. The number of families was in 1786, about 700, of whom 234 were manufacturers. The following is the list of them.

Fourteen hatters, thirty-six shoemakers, four tanners, seventeen saddlers, twenty-five tailors, twenty-five weavers of woolen, linen, and cotton cloth, three stocking weavers, twenty-five white and black smiths, six wheel wrights, eleven coopers, six clock and watchmakers, six tobacco and snuff manufacturers, four dyers, seven gun smiths, five rope makers, four tinnors, two brass founders, three skin dressers, one brush maker, seven turners, seven nail makers, five silver smiths, three potters, three brewers, three copper smiths, and two printers in English and German. There were in 1786 also, within thirty-nine miles of the town, seventeen furnaces, forges, rolling mills and flitting mills, and within ten miles of it eighteen grain mills, sixteen saw mills, one fulling mill, four oil mills, five hemp mills, two boring and grinding mills for gun barrels, and eight tanneries. The increase since 1786, must have been very considerable; for the attention of the United States has been very much turned to manufactures since the year 1787. It may be safely affirmed, that the counties of Lancaster (in which the borough is) York and Berks are among the most vigorous in Pennsylvania, perhaps in the union, and that there are none in the state in which there are more manufactures, is beyond all question. They are all fifty miles or more, from the nearest sea-port.

Information through several channels, affords the greatest reason to believe, that the interior of

Frederick and Elizabeth towns, in Maryland, Stanton, in Virginia, Lexington, in Kentucky, and other towns in the southern states, would prove on examination, similar to those of Pennsylvania, and that the improvements in necessary manufactures are as visible and as rapid, as those in agriculture*.

* The following account of the size and of the manufactures of Winchester, in Virginia, is furnished by a person lately a resident in that place. It appears to exceed even the towns of Pennsylvania in the proportion of manufacturers.

There are about two hundred houses in Winchester. Provisions and wood are low.

There are four or five tan yards. The demand for leather is so great, that it is generally sold unfit for use.

One rope yard carried on extensively.

One or two coachmakers. Few carriages are used, the roads being yet rough.

The bakers and distillers brew occasionally.

There are three or four distilleries in the town. In the neighbourhood there are many.

There are also several oil mills in the neighbourhood. The price of flaxseed is 2s. and 2/6 per bushel, Virginia money.

Grift mills are numerous in the neighbourhood; and teams are constantly employed in the transportation of flour to Alexandria: distance eighty miles: carriage 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ dollar per barrel.

One coppersmith, who carries on his business very extensively.

Three tin plate workers.

Eight or ten hatters. Wool hats, of Winchester make are in much repute, and are vended in large quantities. Price eleven dollars per dozen. Single hat, one dollar.

☞ Note. Wool is one third of a dollar per lb. and *is often ordered up from Philadelphia by the Winchester hatters.*

Twelve or fifteen saddlers.

☞ Note. This manufacture, as well as the hatting, is in a *flourishing condition*, and carried on *very extensively*.

Five or six blacksmiths—one employed in plating saddle trees.

The reflections arising from these facts are highly satisfactory, and as they open new and extended views of the resources and capacities of the United States, they must increase the prevalent disposition of the people to improve the interior economy of our country. It is devoutly hoped, that they may also contribute to remove the apprehensions of our southern and western fellow citizens, in regard to unjust sacrifices of their interests to those of their brethren in other quarters, and that they may lead to such further examinations as will finally evince those immense direct and indirect benefits from American manufactures, which are sincerely believed to pervade *the whole union*.

CONCERNING THE MANUFACTURES OF THE UNITED STATES,
AS THEY AFFECT THE MERCANTILE INTEREST.

Many of the shipholders and merchants trading with foreign countries, suppose, but it is believed erroneously, that they have no interest in the promotion of manufactures. It is known that Great-Britain with seventy millions of acres of populated land, ships fourteen millions (her whole exports being near twenty millions) in her own manufactures. The foreign trade of that kingdom, without manufactures would manifestly be neither so

Three or four wheelrights.

Eight or ten tailors.

Eight or nine shoemakers.

Four or five weavers. Two spinning wheel makers.

Three or four fiddle tree makers.

great nor so various—for the value of the produce manufactured is increased from one hundred to ten hundred per cent. and more ; as is also that of the imported raw materials, which constitute a great portion of their trade. The foreign commerce of the United States, is already enlivened by manufactures. Ships, boats, oars, and handspikes, bar iron, steel, nail rods, carriages of all kinds, hats, shoes, cordage, candles, soap, oils of several kinds, starch, hair powder, distilled spirits, malt liquors, cabinet wares, plate, puncheon packs, gunpowder, pot-ashes, bricks, chocolate, mustard, tow linens, sail-cloth, potter's ware, saddlery and harness, wool and cotton cards, paper and paper hangings, tanned leather, books, snuff, manufactured tobacco, and iron manufactures are now frequently exported to foreign countries. Coastwise there is also a great trade in these and many other manufactured articles, and in raw materials and provisions for the manufacturers within the United States.

An argument of great importance to the ship-holders, exporters, and underwriters, and indeed to the cultivators of the earth, in support of manufactures is to be drawn from their tendency to promote in an easy, certain, safe and cheap way, the naval capacities and strength of the United States. The transportation of provisions, coal, raw materials, and other articles from the southern and middle states to the northern, and the diffusion of the manufactures, of the towns on the coast, throughout the union, already employs many vessels. The

rice, indigo, cotton, hemp, flax, iron, hides, furs, tar, pitch, turpentine, rosin, wax, tobacco, wood and timber, flour and grain, shipped from the states on, and to the southward of the Chesapeake, for the manufacturers in the middle and northern states, give employment at this time to a very considerable portion of our tonnage. This cannot be doubted, when it is remembered, that our coasters are 110,000 tons, though our vessels in *all* the foreign trades probably do not much exceed 150,000;* and the former are entirely out of the reach of foreign restriction, consequently (with the fishing vessels) are our most certain dependence. The weight of this circumstance, will be not a little increased by the recollection, that the coasting trade is uncommonly interesting to a nation without transmarine colonies or dominions.

When we consider the fisheries as one of the most efficacious modes of creating the powers of offence and defence at sea, and that our agriculture and commerce, must therefore be supported and defended by our fishermen, and fishing vessels, among other means, it will be satisfactory to the cultivators, and merchants, that they will be promoted by the success of our manufactures. Skins and furs of sea animals, whalebone, and the head matter of the whale, are used by various manufacturers for leather, hats, whips, candles, &c.

* A. D. 1791, and of course exclusive of fishing vessels.

The oils are used by leather dressers, shipbuilders, &c. and instead of candles.

It will be unnecessary to adduce to our mercantile citizens any arguments to prove, that the United States generally pay a premium on the bills purchased for their remittances for European manufactures. The exports, sales of vessels, their outward freights and sales of lands, to foreigners, are the ordinary means applied to the payments for our imports, after deducting that part of them, which belonging to emigrators, is not to be remitted or paid for. It is interesting to ascertain the reasons for our continuing to lose by the course of exchange. The principal cause probably is, that we draw so very large a proportion of our manufactures from one nation, that there is constantly a trebled demand for bills on that country. It is of importance to discover how this is to be remedied. *The other European nations have had the eight years of the war almost exclusively, and the nine years of the peace, in a fair competition and do not supply us with manufactures equivalent to half of the stated value of the shoes made by ourselves!* It appears then, that our own exertions only, can relieve our merchants from this annual loss on their remittances for several million of dollars.

It may not be improper to take a view of the article of distilled spirits as a commodity, which we

are capable of manufacturing to any extent, and which while it will be an aid to agriculture, will also be an object of coasting and foreign trade. We have imported, in a single year, above eleven millions of gallons of foreign spirits and molasses. If one million of gallons of the latter were used in substance then our imports of spirits and ingredients made into spirits, would stand at ten millions of gallons. The value of these, as they cost the country may be fairly taken at one third of a dollar on a medium, and will give 3,333,333 dollars, which is above one-sixth part of the annual value of our exports*. As five millions of bushels of grain would be consumed in the manufactory of a quantity of spirits equal to what was imported, in the form of spirits or ingredients employed to make them, there is no occasion for argument to prove, that *the landed interest* would be greatly benefited by the manufacture of grain liquors (or fruit liquors) in lieu of the ten millions of gallons drawn from foreign sources. And in regard to *the mercantile interest*, it may be observed, that the supply of a foreign commodity is always precarious, and accordingly the disturbances in the several parts of the French empire, and the loss of their vintage, have deprived us of the usual importation of their brandies since the last autumn, and of the accustomed supply of molasses from the crop of 1792 of their principal colony. These two defalcations will probably amount to some millions of gallons, and must produce a void

* A. D. 1791.

in a considerable branch of our foreign trade, for we shall not have it in our power to import the brandies and molasses, nor to export the returns for them, which have employed many thousand tons of shipping, and a considerable part of our mercantile capital and industry; nor shall we be able to export distilled spirits, manufactured from molasses, which has also employed our vessels, private funds and industry. How are the merchant and shipholder to be relieved under these injuries to their business? Manufacturing distilled spirits and malt liquors* from native materials will afford considerable relief. Their capital and vessels may be employed in purchasing and transporting, from the rivers and bays of the United States to the distilleries and breweries, a part at least of the requisite quantities of grain, hops, fuel, and lumber, and of the manufactured liquors, to domestic or foreign markets. Nor is this a mere probability. It is already an existing fact. The manufacture of grain liquors in the town of Providence (in Rhode-Island) alone, in the first three months of the present year, was equivalent to 12056 cases of geneva per ann. If the Dutch import grain enough from the north of Europe, to make and distribute gin throughout the world, from Archangel to Canton, which is really the case, it cannot be doubted that the United States, which have the greatest surplus of grain of any country upon earth, which are rapidly increasing it, which are

* See paper T. in the second book.

further from their consumers than any nation exporting grain, which have the wood to make the casks for it, and the shipping to transport it, and are themselves great consumers of malt liquors and distilled spirits, it cannot be doubted that a nation thus circumstanced, must be able to manufacture those articles with facility and advantage to any extent of the demand. The benefits to foreign trade from the manufacture of ships, cordage, sail-cloth, and anchors, as necessary instruments of commerce, and from those articles and pot-ash, soap, candles, steel, carriages and other articles, for sale to foreigners here, or as payments or remittances to them abroad are already too obvious to need more than to be enumerated: but too much attention cannot be given to our situation, qualifications, and prospects in regard to the home manufacture of liquors, considering the disturbed state of the sugar islands, the increased consumption and prices of all the productions of the cane, the impediments to the ordinary importation of slaves, the objections to the slave trade which are appearing in different quarters, the immense population of the manufacturing countries of Europe, and their consequent necessity to employ in the culture of grain the lands they recently appropriated to the vine, as well as the impossibility of their sparing for the making of liquors all the barley, rye, and oats, which were formerly consumed in that manufacture.

There is also a considerable portion of foreign trade, created by the importation of raw materials

and other necessaries for the employment and consumption of the manufacturers: the articles contemplated are cotton, hemp, bar iron, sheet iron, copper and brass in pigs and sheets, lapis calaminaris, lead, pewter, wire of every metal, woolen, cotton, and linen yarns, hempen yarn, hides, skins, and furs, wool, paper for books and hangings, dyers colours, and some others, varnish, printing types, bullion for gold and silversmiths, gold and silver leaf, glue, mahogany, and other cabinet woods, molasses, and crude sugars for distillers and refiners, manufacturers tools and implements, such as vices, screwplates, anvils, hammers, axes, hatchets, knives, awls, pincers, grindstones, hatters bowstrings, &c. glass plates for looking glass makers and coach makers, callicoe and linens for printing, morocco skins, and many other commodities, which are expended in the workshops or families of our manufacturers, including foreign articles of apparel, furniture, food and drink.

S E C T I O N I I I .

A CONTINUATION OF THE REFLEXIONS ON THE MANUFACTURES
OF THE UNITED STATES AS THEY AFFECT THE MERCANTILE
INTEREST.

S O M E of the benefits to the coasting trade and other parts of the domestic commerce resulting from manufactures, have already been intimated in treating of the manufacture of liquors. Besides these, bark and hides for the tanneries, iron, lead, steel, copper, hemp, flax, wool, cotton, silk,

wood, timber, furs, tobacco, flaxseed, and grain, for the manufacturers of those articles, and provisions, fuel, indigo, and other objects of their consumption and use, together with the goods made by them, are, and constantly will be purchased, transported from place to place, and sold; creating a great part of the employment for 110,000 tons of coasting vessels, exercising a large portion of commercial industry and skill, and affording a return of profits, on a very considerable sum of mercantile capital, employed in the business. This branch of our trade is of *peculiar* importance; because we have no transmarine colonies, and while the redundancy of shipping owned by most nations, will leave us but little chance of materially increasing our vessels in the foreign trades, the extension we may give by it, in the course of ten years, to our home trade and navigation, will probably be very great. We have brought cotton, sugar, and saltpetre to be manufactured, from India, sulphur from the Adriatic, hemp, flax, and iron, from Russia, copper from Sweden, furs, indigo, and mahogany, from the gulph of Mexico, and coal for our workmen from England: and we cannot doubt, therefore, that we shall transport those commodities and others, from such of the states as produce them, to those which shall create, or have already established, a *manufacturing demand*.

Foreign commerce being limited by the combined value of our imports, and exports,* any mer-

* The negotiations and insurances for foreigners are considerable, but these operations require little use of capital.

cantile capital, which might accumulate beyond the sum requisite for those purposes, would want employment of a commercial nature, if the merchant were not able to have recourse to manufactures. This is not a mere speculation in possible events; for considerable trading houses, and others of respectable standing, have actually entered into such pursuits. Glass-houses, rope-walks, powder-mills, iron-works, steel-works, slitting and rolling mills, grist-mills, naileries, sugar refineries, breweries and distilleries, the manufactory of sail-cloth, and of woolen, cotton and linen goods, exhibit at this moment numerous proofs of the fact. The commercial states, which do not produce much, will yearly confirm this truth.

It is too well known to need more than a bare allegation of the truth, that our outward bound vessels are always completely laden, and that they do not on a medium return half full. It will therefore, increase the profits of the owners of ships, if the outward cargo can be rendered more valuable by manufacturing the goods to be exported. This may be exemplified in regard to wheat and the simple manufacture of superfine flour. A vessel, which will carry ten thousand bushels of the former, at the price of a dollar per bushel, will be laden for 10,000 dollars; but the quantity of superfine flour (3,000 barrels) which the same vessel would receive, will amount at a proportionate price, to the sum of 15,000 dollars. The same quantity of tonnage, filled with our bottled porter, distilled spirits, steel,

cordage, starch, pearl ashes, carriages, cabinet wares, plate, candles, soap, linseed oil, paper, hats, shoes, &c. would rise to a much greater value; and of consequence, the owners of the vessel would be able to purchase more goods for the return cargo, by which the ship being fuller would make a greater sum in freight back. This circumstance is rendered of the more consequence, by reason of our distance from the greater part of the consumers of our surplus produce: and it is obvious, that ships will be most profitable in those trades, wherein the measurement of all our imports, shall be equal to the measurement of all our exports. Vessels, which depart and return fully laden, cannot fail to enrich their owners.

No arguments will be necessary to convince the judicious and reflecting mind, that the employment of large capitals and of many merchants and traders is most certain and easy, where there are the greatest number and variety of objects to be bought and sold. As our commercial towns, therefore, have offered manufactured commodities to those, who come thither to trade, they have increased in business. Pot ash, pearl ash, country rum, and other domestic liquors, loaf sugar, &c. have already contributed to swell their exports, by attracting foreign demand, or increasing the number of profitable objects of shipment. These will naturally multiply under the hands of our manufacturers, and instead of markets, in which nothing but lumber, tobacco, live-stock, provisions,

and raw materials were formerly to be obtained, our sea-ports will be converted into magazines, in which not only all those articles will still be procurable but the various commodities manufactured from them. For these goods in whatever shape, purchasers will never be wanting: *cheap merchandise as certainly attracts buyers, as water finds its level.* Nor is this mere sanguine hope, or ingenious suggestion; for it is an obvious truth, that *the greatest manufacturing nations in the old world, are the greatest traders to foreign parts.* Holland, when most remarkable for manufactures, traded to the amount of eighty millions of dollars per annum in the commodities of other countries.

A FEW GENERAL REFLECTIONS ON AMERICAN MANUFACTURES.

The political concord and attachments, which grow out of mutual benefits, are the most rational and permanent. To encourage these is *the piety* of American patriotism. In this view, the cement, which will be given to the national union, by the interchanges of raw materials, provisions, fuel, and manufactures among the several states, is of inestimable value. If European nations have shown dispositions of amity and mutual forbearance, on these considerations, it cannot be doubted that sister states will evince equal wisdom and virtue. If many parts of our union, from policy or a temporary necessity for manufactured supplies, have been willing to exhibit

the greatest liberality toward those foreigners, with whom they have been recently at the widest variance, and whom they still consider as little less than hostile, it must appear very desirable, that the capacity at once to accommodate those states and engage their regard, should be transferred from distant strangers, to our own continent, and our own kindred. If the merchants and manufacturers of the opulent nation with whom the United States so long waged war, influenced by the hope of our consumption, cried aloud for peace, and, on the moment of its return, pressed with all the courtesies of commerce to our shores, the existing friendship of the several parts of the union for each other must be strengthened by similar influences, as they shall be progressively created.

The animated prosecution and liberal encouragement of manufactures, is at this moment a great political duty. The national legislature has increased the impost on foreign merchandize, to defray the expences of the Indian war. The continuance of a great part of the duties is to be no longer than that of the hostilities, which occasioned them to be laid. If the interval should be diligently employed in the promotion of manufactures, which these duties are calculated to create and to protect, the temporary injuries of the Indian war will be accompanied and followed by great, solid, and permanent benefits. The military expence is rendered less burdensome by the employment given to our own workmen. The shoes, boots, horsemen's caps,

hats, buckles, buttons, saddlery, spears, rifles, gunpowder, and other articles for the use of the army, are made by American manufacturers. It is perceived, that war, which often interrupts foreign commerce and generally diminishes the prices of agricultural productions for exportation, has in this instance no effects of that nature; but by judicious arrangements, may be rendered instrumental to the greatest support of the landed interest—the *manufactures of the United States*. The lamentable havoc of the field must inevitably diminish the number of our citizens; but there is every reason to believe, that those, who, in the course of the present Indian war, may fall under the banners of their country, will prove inferior in number to those who will be drawn, by the influence of the new duties, from foreign countries, to the standard of American manufactures: and although the most useful arts are no compensation for the lives of our compatriots, the acquisition of a greater number of new citizens will counterbalance *the political evil* resulting from such a loss, so far as it may unhappily occur*.

It is detrimental to the United States, that the manufactures they consume are drawn from nations, whose citizens pay much greater contributions to their governments than our manufacturers, and consequently, that we, so far forth, are subject to

* It is conceived that the observations in the preceding paragraph apply to the duties laid on account of the Algerine depredations.

their taxes, imposts, and excises. In Great-Britain for example, their national taxes are seven times as large as ours, in proportion to the numbers of people in the two countries; and their poor rates and church rates are *each* more than double our whole national contributions. The monopolies of those countries fall heavily upon the consumers, among their citizens; and those, who purchase their fabrics, bear a part of this burden, which lies on their manufacturers. The commercial charges paid by the English East-India company *abroad*, amount to one million of dollars per annum: the freight and the charges in England are about two millions and two-thirds more, exclusively of duties. The company's civil and military charges would, in two years like the present, pay all the expenses of our government, and discharge our national debt*. The restrictions on navigation and trade in the European nations also enhance the price of raw materials and articles of consumption required by their manufacturers, all which fall ultimately upon the people of the United States, so far as their fabrics are consumed here. These considerations should induce our most strenuous exertions, to diminish those indirect burdens, and at the same time they hold out an absolute certainty of a successful issue to our efforts.

In taking a view of the affairs of the United States, and comparing them with the situation of

* A. D. 1791.

most of the great commercial nations of Europe, the mind is immediately impressed with the peculiarity of their being without transmarine colonies. Though speculative politicians have entertained doubts in regard to favourable effects from such possessions, taking into view the expences of their improvement, defence and government, no question has been made but that the monopoly of their trade greatly increases the commerce of the nations to which they are appertenant. Of such an advantage the United States do not enjoy the benefit ; and considering this circumstance, and the prevailing disposition to restrict commerce, our fisheries, coasting trade, and *manufactures* appear to merit extraordinary attention.

The consideration of manufactures, upon general principles, has been, for several years, before the legislatures as well of the states, as of the union. The estimation of their importance to the landed and national interests appears to have been greatly heightened by discussion and enquiries into facts. *Household* manufactures, have acquired universal and decided approbation. To those which are conducted by labour-saving machinery and processes, by horses and oxen, and which consequently do not require manual operations, no objection has been made. Such of them as can be carried on by the manufacturers now among us, by those who may migrate hither, by the wives and children of our citizens, and by black women, old men and children, have not been considered as diminishing

the mass of agricultural industry, but as manifestly promoting it by new and extensive demands.

The present discussion of the subject will be terminated by remarking, that although this great subdivision of our political economy has been copiously and freely treated in every mode, it has not only preserved its original importance in the public judgment, but has risen in the estimation of the people in every part of the union—a *fate that rarely attends unimportant truths or dangerous errors in an enlightened country*. (See table of duties on foreign manufactures, &c. paper Z.)

CONCERNING THE IMPORTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

This part of the national business has given rise to doubts, whether the United States are really in a prosperous situation. The apprehension is believed, however, to have proceeded from several errors. The estimation of the imports has probably been made from the prices current in America, which are more than the United States pay for them, by the total value of the following particulars. 1st. Such part of the shipping charges abroad, as accrue to the benefit of the citizens of the United States, who may be on the spot to make the shipment: 2dly, that part of the freight upon them, which is earned by our own vessels: 3dly, that part of the premium of insurance upon them, which is paid to American underwriters or insurers: 4thly, the whole amount of the duties, and custom house fees, on the goods, which amount to several millions of dollars: 5thly,

the amount of the tonnage and fees on foreign vessels, which are deductions in favour of the country from the value of the goods imported in them: 6thly, the portorage, storeage, cooperage, weighing, guaging, measuring, commissions on sales here and other incidental expences on that part of the imports which belongs to foreigners: 7thly, the profits of our merchants on that part of the imports which belongs to them: 8thly, the wastage of goods belonging to foreigners between their arrival or time of valuation and the time of sale: 9thly, the benefit of credit which is not less than two and an half per cent. on the whole value of our imports: and 10thly, the value of those imported goods which remain in the country, being the property of persons intending to become, or who will ultimately become citizens of the United States. But the apparent or conjectural disproportion between the exports and imports of the United States, will be considerably diminished by the sales of vessels to foreigners at home and abroad—the sales of lands to them—the expences of foreigners here—the expences of foreign vessels here, and the cost of their sea-stores—the commissions on the shipments of their cargoes, and on the disbursements of their vessels, as already observed in treating of our exports. Besides these, the freight of goods shipped to foreign countries in our own vessels, (not less probably than three millions of dollars) and the profits upon all the goods exported on the account of our own citizens, contribute very much to increase the fund, wherewith our imports are purchased or paid for. An estimate, which shall comprehend all these

items at their true value, is necessary to form a satisfactory opinion of the balance on our trade. From such an estimation (which has been made) there would result no reason to doubt our prosperity : nor will this appear questionable, when it is remembered, that the outward freights in our vessels, and the duties on goods imported, amount together to 6,400,000 dollars, which is more than one third of our exports. The balance of trade has been aptly denominated *the metaphysics of commerce*. To determine it with indisputable certainty requires as accurate and elaborate an investigation as a great metaphysical question : and though this assertion proves nothing, it will inspire us with due caution against hastily adopting unfavourable conclusions.

An opinion somewhat singular and of considerable importance will be hazarded upon this subject. *The United States, to make the utmost advantage of things in their present improvable situation, should have little or no balance in their favour on their general commerce.* If their exports, outward freights, sales of vessels and lands, &c. amount to twenty-four millions of dollars per annum, they will find their true interest in importing the whole value in well selected commodities. It is better for example, that they import molasses, hemp, cotton, wool, bar iron, hides, skins, furs, salt-petre, sulphur, copper, tin, brass, paper, mahogany, &c. to manufacture ; tools for artizans, and materials and utensils for constructing works, improving waste lands, and cultivating farms, and breeding-cattle, horses, and

sheep; than that they should bring back the equivalent in gold or silver. The sum we annually import in articles of that nature, more precious to us than the most precious metals, would constitute an immense balance in our favour: such, indeed, as would, in a few years, oppress our country with too copious a circulating medium, or compel us to export it.

That the exports and other means of paying for our imports are much more adequate to the occasion, than they were during several years subsequent to the peace, is manifest from the state of our private credit in Europe.

A distinction, and it is conceived, a very important one, has been already intimated in favour of such of our imports as are of a nature adapted to enhance the value of our lands, or to employ or assist our citizens: and in regard to those which are for immediate consumption, the quantity cannot be in proportion to our former imports, considering the increase of population. We have actually almost ceased to import shoes, boots, saddlery, coarse hats, plate, snuff, manufactured tobacco, cabinet wares, carriages, wool and cotton cards, hanging paper, gunpowder, and other articles; and we have exceedingly diminished our importation of coarse linen and woollen goods, cordage, copper utensils, tin utensils, malt liquors, loaf sugar, steel, paper, playing cards, glue, wafers, fine hats, braziers, watches and clocks, cheese, &c :

and we either make these articles from native productions, by which the whole value is struck off from our imports, or we manufacture them of foreign raw materials, which cost less than the goods used to do, especially as they often yield a great freight to our own vessels. Thus the freight of the molasses to make rum, imported in one year, at two dollars per hhd. was not less than 140,000 dollars. The same observation occurs as to hemp, cotton, iron, copper, brass, tin, saltpetre, sulphur, mahogany, hides, dye woods, and other raw materials.

From these circumstantial evidences, there would appear to be little danger of mistake, in concluding, that our imports, on a medium of two or three years, have not been disproportionate to our exports, and other safe and regular means of balancing the amount of our supplies. But though the documents for a comparison between the present imports, and those antecedent to the revolution, are less perfect than is to be desired, some which offer are worthy of attention. Our imports from Great-Britain in 1770, making some addition for those from Ireland and adding 20 per cent. to bring them to their market value, were worth *here* above £.2,400,000 sterling. In this item, the information obtained from a report of the lords of the British privy council, is principally relied on, though a part of it is supplementary estimation. To this sum is to be added, a proportion of the imports into all the American colonies

in 1770, from all the rest of the world, but Great-Britain, which, after deducting therefrom £.73,000 sterling for the value imported into Bermuda, the Bahamas, the northern British colonies, and Newfoundland, leaves £ 1,050,000 ster. for the value here of this part of our former imports. The total value of our imports in 1770, would then appear to have been more than £.3,450,000 or about 15,000,000 dollars, as they would have sold in the American market, exclusive of the contraband trade, which was considerable. This will be seen by a reference to the first number of these reflexions, to be full seven millions of dollars more than our exports at the same time. If then our imports were to bear the same proportion to 18,250,000 dollars (our present exports) the former might be above 34,000,000 dollars, without creating more alarm than we had then reason to feel. This view of the subject may convince us, that our imports were too copious, at least in some quarters, for several years before the war; and hence we find a heavy load of private debt was created and remains upon the citizens of some of the states at this day. Happily for the United States, the reduction of the prices of supplies, by the present freedom of their commerce, by the agency of merchants of credit instead of planters inexperienced in trade, by the introduction of machinery in Europe, and by their own manufacturing industry, has kept down their imports many millions of dollars below that sum, although the impost and tonnage have directly or indirectly contributed to enhance the nominal amount

without increasing the sum to be paid for them abroad*.

A SKETCH OF THE GENERAL TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES.

In taking a survey of the American commerce, the attention is pleasingly attracted to the increase of ship building, to the new manufactories of articles necessary to the equipment of vessels, and to the improvement in the art of ship-building, as well as the superior quality of the materials now

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* There is a fact, which affects our imports in a manner peculiarly favourable to the United States. Many of the imported articles are not requisite for *daily* or *annual* personal consumption, but for permanent landed improvement, and are added in the course of our internal operations to *the fixed real propriety* of the country. Landed estates in the towns and in the country being no where improved to the utmost point, and being in many places, yet in a state of nature, a large proportion of the articles of importation not only become at the instant of use, a permanent property, but indeed give life and productiveness to other property, which the moment before, was an inactive and fruitless possession.

For instance—In 1786 several millions of acres, ceded by New-York to Massachusetts, yielded not one hundred dollars, nor were there one hundred citizens of these states resident on them. Since that time a very large value in nails, spikes, hinges, locks, glass, paints and other imported articles have been converted (with the aid of our own timber, stone, and lime,) into houses, barns, mills, workshops, places of public business, and of worship, &c. and now constitute *real, fixed, permanent and productive property*, while the teas and sugars, the linens, woollens, and cottons, &c. imported with them have been consumed or worn out. This is yet more strongly exemplified in other parts of New-York and Pennsylvania.

used in their construction. The largest number of vessels built in any one year before the late war, as far as it can be ascertained, was equal to 24,358 tons; and at least 32,000 tons of superior quality were built in 1791. The timber and plank are more chosen, and iron is more copiously used at this time, because the vessels are not intended for sale, and the practice of salting them, is becoming very frequent. It is important, too, that the art of ship-building is diffused more generally than any other equally important one, which is carried on within the United States.†

† The several capacities of the Baltic powers, as to the building of ships form an interesting object to Europe and America, and are conceived to be as follow. The Swedes have plenty of fir, which quickly decays, and is weak. Yet it is commonly used in their trading vessels. Ships of war cannot be relied on, if built of any thing but oak. Of the latter timber the Swedes have some in Skone and Blekinge, but not enough for their navy. They are said to have purchased of the King of Prussia twice within a dozen years, a great quantity of German oak: at one time 400,000 cubic feet, and at another 200,000 feet at the immense price of 5/10 sterling per cubic foot delivered at Carlskroon. American live-oak is sold in Philadelphia,* after paying a freight from the Carolinas and Georgia as 15d to 18d sterling per foot, and southern red cedar at the same prices: our common white-oak is 9d sterling per foot. The Swedes raise flax but very little hemp, their supply of which they import from Riga, to make their cordage and sail-cloth. This bulky article in time of war must cost them high. They have plenty of iron within themselves.

The Danes import the masts for their navy, flax and hemp from Russia. They make only a part of their sail-cloth, and import

* A. D. 1789s

The export trade in our produce is more beneficial than heretofore to the landed interest, because the cultivators do not, as formerly, anticipate up-

that article both from Russia and Holland. They have little oak except in Holstein, which is reserved for emergencies. The greatest part of the oak timber for their navy, is purchased by contract from the king of Prussia. Their merchant ships, it is presumed, must therefore be of fir, which with their iron they have from Norway.

The Russians have abundance of naval stores, flax, hemp, sail-cloth, iron, masts, fir timber and plank for home consumption and exportation. *Oak* timber is not plenty in the vicinity of their Baltic ports. At Archangel they have none. The oak timber for their navy is said to be brought by their canals and rivers 1200 miles from their Tartarian kingdom of Casan. A few ships of war have been built of fir and larch. The Russians have very few merchant ships. Out of every hundred entries in the several ports of St. Petersburg, Archangel, Wibourg, Revel, Narva, and Riga not more than *two* are of their national flag. The British and Dutch are their carriers as far as two-thirds or three-fourths of the tonnage employed.*

The dominions of the king of Prussia are the best magazine of *oak timber* on the Baltic. Having, flax, hemp, timber and iron and considerable manufactures of them, grain, cattle, coal, a sea-coast more extensive than the United Netherlands or Russia (excepting the frozen coasts of Archangel) and being much nearer to the European fisheries than the French and British are to those on our coasts, it will not be difficult for the Prussian king to advance his navigation and trade. Indeed his port and territory of Emden would enable him to prosecute the fisheries to advantage, as also the East-India trade. It is difficult however to judge of things at such a distance. The monopoly of European *oak* is thrown in a greater degree into the hands of the king of Prussia, by the last partition of the devoted territory of Poland.

* A. D. 1789.

on their crops abroad, by ordering out supplies at the discretion of the European merchant, to be paid for in shipments of their crops upon their own account and risque. The planters in Maryland and Virginia, particularly the tobacco planters, suffered extremely from an inconsiderate pursuit of that practice before the revolution. The American merchant is now more frequently their importer; and as he understands the mode of procuring goods cheap, the real profits of the import and export trade of the country, are in a greater degree divided between the planter and the trader.

The reduction of the prices of East-India and China goods, of every species of manufactures in which labour saving machinery and slight apply, and of wines, occasion our imports to be obtained on more favourable terms. This beneficial effect is increased by the freedom of our import trade, which lets in the productions and manufactures of all countries by a direct intercourse with them, which was formerly either circuitous or forbidden. From the same cause, superior prices for our produce and manufactured articles have been obtained. If tobacco is becoming an exception, it is to be remembered, that great prices were obtained for it till lately, and that the extraordinary quantity raised is sufficient to account for its fall.

The coasting trade has become very great, and the derangement of the West-India trade must extend it exceedingly, during the current year,

from the failure of molasses. The increase of manufactures, and foreign restrictions on other branches of trade have contributed to elevate this valuable part of our commerce; and the former (manufactures) will continue steadily to increase the importance of the coasting business. The vessels, which take supplies of flour, and many other articles from the middle and northern states to South-Carolina and Georgia, make very frequent voyages, and they return less than half laden: but if the planters should pursue the cultivation of hemp, flax, hops, and cotton, they may come back with full cargoes. A similar remark may be justly made in regard to the other states.

The fisheries would appear not to have recovered their former value; but it is plain, they have increased yearly since 1789: and they are even now more valuable than they appear to be. The consumption of oil, whale-bone, skins of sea animals, spermaceti, and pickled and dried fish, is much greater in the United States at this time, than it was twenty years ago. The outfits of the fishing vessels, too, are more from the industry and resources of the country, than was formerly the case. Wherefore the general benefits resulting from the fisheries, are probably not less than before the revolution.

Remote as the United States are from all foreign nations, totally unconnected with their politics, and having no temptation to wage war for territo-

ry, they cannot but advance in commercial and agricultural prosperity, if they preserve *order* and *justice* at home. Foreign restrictions will be necessarily less rigid, as occasions for supplies and pacific services from the United States shall arise : and these occasions must inevitably exist in every maritime nation, which shall engage in war, even with a country, which is not itself maritime.

The prosecution of manufactures has created some increase of our foreign trade, and will extend it. If we did not pursue that branch of industry, we should not import copper, iron, and hemp, from the Baltic ; cotton, saltpetre, raw silk, and white calicoes from India ; and cocoa, dye-woods, mahogany, cotton, and hides from the West-Indies, and the southern parts of the American continent. Some of these importations are regularly and extensively made ; others are increasing. Without them we should have no intercourse with some of these countries, and much less than we now have with others. In like manner, our intercourse with several countries is increased by manufactured exports. The demand for our potash, distilled spirits, ships and boats, malt liquors, cheese, bar iron, slit iron, steel, gunpowder, carriages, and other articles, occasions a greater and more beneficial trade with many foreign ports. It is impossible to say how rapid and how considerable the progress of this part of our commerce will be. The exported manufactures of Great-Britain,

in 1791, were greater than those of fifty years ago, by twice the value of our present exports.

It is extremely favourable to American commerce, internal and foreign, that a variety of changes have taken place in the affairs of the world, which have opened branches of trade formerly withheld from us by monopoly, or other circumstances. The act of separation from Great-Britain enabled us to trade to China, and other countries beyond the cape of *Good Hope*, and the enterprize of our citizens soon discovered the way. The curious perfection of manufacturing machinery in Europe has made it the interest of the foreign India companies to sell us their piece goods in the markets of the east, without taking them at second hand.* The misfortunes of St. Domingo have greatly increased our commerce in indigo, and will have the same effect upon cotton, and they are impelling us rapidly into an internal trade in native spirits, which will of course lead to external commerce of the same kind. This will appear to be a matter of great importance, when it is remembered, that since the late peace, the foreign spirits imported have in some years been equal in value to one-fifth of our exports! The failure of ship-timber, which begins to appear every where in Europe, is enabling the United States to carry on ship-building upon very ad-

* It is understood that the British East-India company are likely to be restrained from importing into Britain several kinds of *pia goods*.

vantageous terms. The profitable establishment of several banks of perfect credit with the most wary and judicious citizens and foreigners, is at once a proof, and a great mean of commercial prosperity. The growth of cities, towns, and manufactures, has given to the fisheries a more substantial basis in a considerable home demand, than they formerly had in a foreign one. The banishment of paper tenders, and ex post facto laws, and the interdiction of laws impairing the obligations of contracts, have placed our commerce upon a more honourable and solid footing, than it ever was before. The mint, the laws regulating seamen and the fisheries, the appreciation of the public debt, the spirit of improvement* on roads, rivers, and canals, the discovery of coal near navigable water, the continual extensions of the post-office, the constant increase of light houses on the coasts, the introduction of auxiliary arts, and above all, *the progress of agriculture*, have given facilities, stability, and extension to our trade, which, were unknown before the revolution, and which in the distressful derangements of 1786 and 1787, appeared beyond the bounds of reasonable expectation.

* One million and one hundred thousand dollars were subscribed in a single season to objects of this nature in Pennsylvania alone.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE AMERICAN FISHERIES CONSIDERED AS A PART OF THE INSTRUMENTS OF NATIONAL DEFENCE.

The accurate estimation of every subdivision of the industry and wealth of nations should occupy the unremitting attention of the political observer.

A diligent enquiry after the facts, which appear to a subject, never fails to administer the most useful aid to the candid investigator: and it sometimes happens, that the simple adduction of these, affords unquestionable proofs of great benefits or injury, in cases, wherein the general assertions and reasonings offered, are supposed to be mere suggestions of self-interest or local prejudice. The fisheries, it is believed, would prove, on a thorough examination, to be an instance of this nature. The following statement of some recorded facts, will be found to warrant strong presumptions, that their intrinsic value has been hitherto unknown.

It is generally understood, that the fisheries of the late American provinces were principally carried on by the people of Massachusetts and that such is the case now, is well ascertained by the returns and reports which have been promulgated by the federal government. It is also generally known, that the fisheries constituted by much the greatest part of the external commerce of that state, and it will be readily admitted, that whatever was done by its vessels and seamen should be principal-

ly ascribed to its fishing vessels and fishing men. By an examination of the records of the three counties of Suffolk, Essex, and Middlesex, (which comprise the ports of Boston, Salem, Beverly, Newbury-port, Marble-head, Gloucester, Haverhill and Ipswich) it appears that there were taken, brought in, and libelled in the maritime court of those three counties, during the last war, 1095 vessels with their cargoes, and thirteen cargoes, (which had been taken from vessels probably unloaded at sea, and abandoned after capture) making in the whole 1108. It has been stated by a British premier in his place in their parliament, that the number of vessels belonging to Great-Britain in 1774, was 6219 sail, of which 3908 were British built, and 2311 American built. What havoc then does it appear, that these fishermen made among the British merchantmen? above a sixth of all their vessels were brought by these people, as prizes into the markets of the United States, with cargoes to an immense amount, composed of every species of military and domestic supply in a season of the utmost emergency. It appears too, that these prizes were no less than two sevenths of all the British built ships of that nation. But the enquiry goes further. The opinions of the most candid and best informed estimators, founded on careful enquiry, countenance the presumption, that fifty-five per cent. of all the vessels captured by the people of Massachusetts, during the war, were retaken before arrival; so that there is the utmost probability, that the whole number of vessels, which were captured

by the shipping of these three counties, was 2450 fail. How great a derangement was this to the British commerce and how heavy must have been the expence of the salvage paid to the re-captors? How great the number of marine prisoners? How serious the interruption to the manning of their navy?

The operations, here spoken of, were confined to what is termed in Massachusetts the middle district. The captures in the eastern and southern districts were much less considerable, but they are not ascertained at this time. It is computed that they amounted to at least five hundred and fifty fail, so that it should appear, that the armed vessels of our principal fishing state, captured in the course of the late war, near one half of the merchant ships, ordinarily belonging to Great-Britain, and above three-fourths of the number of her native built vessels. The subject admits of one more suggestion. It is highly probable, that many captured vessels, and cargoes of vessels taken and abandoned at sea, were carried into the ports of powers, who were in alliance with the United States, which did not appear on the records of the Massachusetts courts. The vessels of the other fishing states were remarkably successful in their operations against the British merchant ships; and in short, the American fishermen, wherever bred, operated in their own element, against the commerce of Great-Britain, with a destructive activity, vigilance, and efficiency.

There exists a proof of the extraordinary impression made by the vessels of the United States on the British navigation at that time, which cannot be mistaken. This is to be drawn from the rates of insurance on unarmed vessels, which were more excessive, than in any war of Great-Britain for fifty years past, although no other maritime nation, with whom they have contended during that time, has been so deficient in public ships.

The fishing trade of the United States, is rendered peculiarly important, as a means of defence or of annoying the commerce of hostile nations, from the circumstance of our not having yet adopted a naval establishment. The fishermen, while that continues to be the case, must be transmuted by war, as quickly as by a charm, into a corps of privateers-men and their ships into private vessels of war; because, the navy of any hostile foreign nation will suspend the fisheries as long as we remain without a naval force. They are therefore, not only a means of offence and defence, prepared to our hands, like the fishermen of other nations, but in our peculiar situation, they will be driven, by imperious necessity, to live on the spoils of the commerce of our enemies.

S E C T I O N IV.

CONCERNING THE BANKS ESTABLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES

THESE valuable institutions were unknown to us before the revolution, being added to the political economy in the latter part of the war. The paper emissions in the times of the provinces, had yielded some of the advantages of bank notes, though with less safety to those who received them. But the degree in which they were unavoidably resorted to, in the course of the war, had completely destroyed the utility of paper money in 1781. The state of public credit, and indeed of the public affairs in general, as well as the exigencies of the cultivators, merchants and manufacturers, required an efficient substitute for an instrument of negotiation and dealing, of so great compass. The scheme of a bank was presented in the manner, which is universally known, as the most probable mean of accommodating the general necessities, political, agricultural, and commercial. The promises which the plan made were abundantly fulfilled; and at the same time a standard of public conduct and action in regard to the rights of property, was unobservedly erected, at a moment when the recent course of events had rendered it very desirable, as well from political as moral considerations. It has been found, accordingly, that the laws which concern property, in the places where banks have been established, have quickly acquired a stability, if they

were good, and have meliorated, if they were before exceptionable, notwithstanding any supposed or real errors in the plans or administration of the institutions.

In reflecting upon these establishments, one cannot but call to mind a suggestion, which frequently occurs, that too large a portion of the capital of the United States, has been applied to them. Few pecuniary operations are of as much importance. In estimating the extent to which we might have gone with prudence, an examination of the state of that business in a successful and at the same time the best known scene of trade in Europe, may be of some use. In the city of London, the bank of *England* (exclusively of that of Scotland) has operated with a capital of more than fifty millions of dollars about forty-six years. The population of *England*, on a medium, during that term, has been less than double that of the United States at present, yet the capital of its bank has been above five times the capital of our national bank, and near five times the amount of all the subscriptions which are yet* paid into all the banks in the United States. There, are, moreover a great number of private banks in the same city, probably not less than sixty in number, some of which have more capital stock, than any bank in this country, except that of the United States. The aggregate amount of their capitals is probably equal to that

of the bank of England. Besides these, there are very many considerable private banks scattered through the kingdom. In addition to those, there are the public and the private banks of Scotland. If the banks of England and Scotland, public and private, out of London, be equal to the private banks of London alone, then the capital of those institutions in Great-Britain will be 150,000,000 dollars, or above fourteen times as many dollars as there are persons in that kingdom, though the whole of the stocks of the bank of the United States, which is paid in, is not equal to three times the number of their inhabitants. Again: if the banks of Great-Britain be measured by the exports of that island, it will be found, that the latter, at their highest value (90,000,000 of dollars) are only three-fifths of their aggregate bank capital, and that our exports, at 18,250,000 dollars, are above two-thirds more than all our bank capital, which is actually paid in. Taking the British imports at 80,000,000 of dollars, and those of the United States at 24,000,000, the comparison will be still more in favour of the discretion, which has been observed in the United States. But a very important measure of these institutions yet remains to be applied, by which prudent men will be most disposed to test the subject—the *ordinary quantity of specie*. The bank capital of Great-Britain being, as above stated, about 150,000,000 of dollars, and the quantum of specie being never estimated at more than 22,000,000l. sterling, or 97,700,000 dollars, the aggregate bank capitals of the United

States, as now paid in (ten and one half millions of dollars) would be as prudently, and solidly founded on a quantity of specie a little less than 7,000,000 of dollars. Although it would be impossible to ascertain the precise amount of the specie of the United States, estimates carefully made, appear to warrant a belief, that it is equal to that sum. But while examinations like these seem to abate and even entirely to destroy, the apprehension, that we may have pursued the business of banking to the injury of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, some circumstances of a prudential nature are not to be overlooked. When forming these establishments, we may commit errors, perhaps, in carrying into one scene too great a proportion of the capital appropriated to their creation. Hence the sound policy of subtracting from the mass of the bank of the United States, to establish branches at New-York, Boston, Baltimore, Charleston and (as is said to be intended) in Virginia, ministering to the convenience, the necessities, and the interests of government, the planter, the farmer, the merchant, the navigator, the fisherman, the ship-builder, the manufacturer, and the mechanic, in six several and variant scenes, instead of accumulating in one great mass a superabundant capital*.

* It ought to diminish the political jealousies in regard to the national bank, that several state banks were established before it, and several since, which are aggregately of greater force of capital than the bank of the United States.

It is possible to err, too, in the disposition of banking establishments, by superadding to those which already accommodate any particular scene, rather than introducing the new institutions into places hitherto without them. The United States contain five or six great local subdivisions of trade, resulting principally from the imperious dictates of *the nature of things*. In most of those great spheres, there is more than one considerable and flourishing trading town, though there is in each, one which has an acknowledged pre-eminence. When a reasonable portion of bank capital has been introduced into one of these commercial *metropolies*, the establishment of a new bank would seem to be most expedient in the trading town of the next degree of consideration. It is true, that so far as the operation is an employment, or application of the property of individuals, it must be left, (within the laws) to their own will ; but as the act of incorporation place the subject within the power of the legislatures, and within the bounds of their cares and duties, so it is highly important that these institutions should be modified in their original formation, upon principles of distributive justice in regard to the reasonable accommodation of the marts of commerce, within their spheres of legislation, and of all the landed citizens, who resort to them for the sales of their surplus produce, or the purchase of their supplies.

A pleasing consequence has resulted from the distribution of banks through different parts of the

United States. Like all great objects, these institutions, while operating very beneficially in regard to the business of a country, are liable to be rendered instrumental to local party views. Being committed, as in the United States, to many separate boards of directors, selected for the service on account of their property, integrity, talents, and attention to business, and whose primary duties are the legal, discreet, and beneficial execution of their trust, it is not very probable, that they will deviate, in a dangerous degree, from their proper walk, into the ground of political combination and intrigue.

A circumstance observable in the bank of the United States,* will not fail to attract the attention of cautious men. The portion of public debt, which enters into the composition of their stock, is the particular contemplated. In this respect, the bank of England, and the bank of Ireland (which are among the best accredited of those institutions in Europe) exceed that of the United States in the proportion of one third. It is very favourable to our institution, that the national debt, and ordinary and extraordinary expences of the United States are much less in proportion to wealth and numbers than those of Great-Britain and Ireland, and that our government is not less free from error, nor more like to be disturbed than theirs. It cannot, therefore, be more unsafe to confide in our institution, which contains three-fourths, than in theirs

* Also in the Bank of Pennsylvania. A. D. 1793.

which is wholly composed of public debt. It is, moreover, true, and worthy of observation, that most of the other banks in the United States (and particularly the three largest) have, voluntarily and by their own operations, placed considerable portions of their stock upon the credit of the United States, by purchasing largely of the public debt, and by giving at this time extensive credits founded upon its security. The market value of the public debt, which if Europe were at peace would be generally greater in specie than its nominal amount, renders that part of the bank stock, which is composed of it, intrinsically more valuable than that, which is in coin.

CONCERNING THE NATIONAL INDUSTRY.

An enquiry into the knowledge or skill, assiduity, economy, or frugality, and good management, with which the several descriptions of citizens in the United States pursue their employments, has never yet been made. The subject is copious, and would require much previous enquiry and detail. It is not intended, therefore, in this place to attempt a developement of it; yet it may be serviceable to bestow upon it a few brief reflections. The learned professions will not be brought into view, as they are not strictly of the nature of the object contemplated. The planters, the farmers, the merchants, the navigators, the fishermen, the shipbuilders, the manufacturers and the mechanics, with the persons immediately employed by them, are all which are conceived to be comprehended in the subject. The

body of the planters, that is, those who cultivate tobacco, rice, indigo, and cotton, are, as a description of cultivators, the best informed perhaps in regard to the objects of their particular pursuit, though it is manifest, that they have abundant matter for increased attention in perfecting their cultivation, in ascertaining those species of their valuable plants, which are most excellent, most certain, and most productive, in the improvement of their implements of husbandry, in the acquisition of auxiliary implements and machinery, in perfecting the modes of curing their produce, and preparing it for market, and particularly in the attainment of adequate substitutes for the ordinary species of labourers, a supply of which has become improbable. It appears to be worth their considering, too, as well with an eye to profit, as humanity, whether an advantageous variation in the employment of some of the blacks might not be made, by introducing upon every estate some of the simpler manufactures to employ children, old and invalid persons of both sexes, and particularly the females during those frequent terms, when two lives depend upon their health.

The merchants, navigators, fishermen, and ship-builders of the United States may be safely affirmed to be four descriptions of our citizens, whose industry is as uniformly energetic and well directed, as those of any country in the world, though it is certain, that a much stricter economy prevails among persons of some foreign nations engaged in those

pursuits—an example deserving the most serious attention.

The manufacturers, in some branches, pursue their occupations under the disadvantages of very few errors; yet those citizens would be sensibly benefited, were they able to relieve themselves of certain parts of their labour by the attainment of the auxiliary machinery, which is the purchase of larger capitals, than are yet engaged in their line. Circumstances, however, of various kinds are daily contributing to remove this inconvenience. The bulk of the manufacturers do not want industry, nor skill enough to succeed in those simple manufactures, to which it is most their interest to apply themselves. It may be rather said, that they manufacture ordinary kinds of fabrics, from the nature of the demand, than that they manufacture badly. Their business is, moreover, progressively advancing, and has felt, on several occasions, some of them recent, the fostering hand of government.

The mechanic branches have been, till this time, on nearly as good a footing; but those employed in the erection of buildings ought now to seek the aid of such parts of science as have relation to their calling. Rural and city architecture has been too little studied. It ought not to be forgotten, that a competent knowledge of it is no less conducive to *economy and convenience*, than to elegance and splendor.

The most important of all the employments of our citizens, that of *the farmer*, remains to be noticed. It is very much to be feared, that in point of execution, a candid examination would prove that this best of pursuits is most imperfectly conducted. The proofs are, innumerable instances of impoverished lands, precious bodies of meadow lands, in the old settlements of some of the states, which remain in a state of nature, a frequent inattention to the making or preserving of manure, as frequent inattention to the condition of the seed grain, evidenced by the growth of inferior grain in fields of wheat, and by the complexion of the flour in some quarters, the bad condition of *barns*, stables and fences, and in some places the total want of the former, the deficiency of spring-houses or other cool dairies in extensive tracts of country, the want of a trifling stock of bees, the frequent want of orchards, and the neglect of those which have been planted by preceding occupants, the neglect of the sugar tree, the neglect of fallen timber and fuel, accompanied with the extravagant felling of timber trees for fuel, the neglect of household manufactures in many families, the neglect of making pot-ash, the non-use of oxen, and above all, the growth in substance, of large bodies of farmers on lands of an ordinary quality, while the inhabitants of extensive scenes, hardly extract from much superior lands, sustenance and clothing.

It is a fact very painful to observe, and unpleasant to represent, but it is indubitably true, that *farming* in the grain states, their great best business, the employment most precious in free governments, is, too generally speaking, the least understood, or the least economically and attentively pursued, of any of the occupations which engage the citizens of the United States. It is acknowledged, however with satisfaction, that great changes have been lately made, and that the energy, spirit of improvement, and economy, which have been recently displayed, promise the regular and rapid melioration of the agricultural system. All other things have taken a course of great improvement—and it cannot be apprehended that the yeomanry of the United States will permit themselves to be exceeded by any of their brethren, in the most valuable characteristic of good citizens—*usefulness in their proper sphere.*

CONCERNING THE LAWS WHICH INTRENCH UPON THE RIGHTS
OF PROPERTY.

It is not remembered, that the acts of the national legislature have been deemed by any of the possessors of any description of property, unfavourable to their rights, except the proceedings in regard to the public debt. It is not less curious than true, that a part of the community affirm, that the government have injured the country by too much liberality, while another part charge the legislature with impairing the contract.

In taking a view of this subject, it should be remembered, that the state of things, when it was taken up, was in every respect critical and uncertain. It was difficult to say what the country could perform, and more so to tell what they would comply with. It was perceived, on the one hand, that as such a state of *public credit* as preceded the year 1789, would ruin a government more energetic than that of the United States, so its immediate melioration was a matter of the most imperious necessity. On the other hand, the non-existence of one single efficient system, *yielding an equitable specie interest*, in any one state, and a number of painful facts in the financial operations of some of the legislatures, created a conviction, that there was either an inability or disinclination in all to render a specie payment in the full extent of the *explicit* contracts. Some of the contracts were found not to be explicit, containing promises of large sums under the name specie, which it could not have been the expectation of the government, at their date, to discharge, or of the creditor to receive, in coin; because they promised to pay as specie, what was notoriously much less valuable, than contracts previously liquidated at forty nominal dollars for one in real money. The interesting claims of the original creditors also, were strongly represented, while the conduct of every state in the union, in its particular finances, had discountenanced a discrimination in their favour; and the existing laws of property were urged against a reduction of the last owner's principal: questions were also raised about

the original intrinsic value of the money and property received in many cases by the United States, leading to the ordaining of a new scale of depreciation. By infusing into the proposition for a settlement of the debt, two qualities—*a reduction of the interest* and *a temporary irredeemability of the principal*, which have cost the debtor nothing, and the creditor very little; by vigorous and well devised efforts to recover credit at home and abroad, an arrangement was formed, and executed, which has given better payment to the creditor than could reasonably have been hoped. It is plain to every observer, that, but for the indiscretions of some of the public creditors, who superadded to the trials and fluctuations of a convalescent state of credit the late unparalleled difficulties of the holders of the stock, the three species of the public paper, taken at a medium, would have been worth the nominal value in the market. *Hitherto that has never been the case.*

There yet remain, however, in the United States some laws which affect the rights of property. The operation of instalment* and valuation laws is not terminated in one or two of the states. In one or two others, paper money is a tender for old debts. In one quarter, real estate is protected as in Great Britain from execution for debt; and in others, the judgments of the courts are suspended, if the income of the estate bears a certain pro-

* A. D. 1792.

portion to the creditors' demand.* In some of the states, preferences are given to the claims of citizens, before those of citizens of the other states, or of foreigners; and ills exist in the form of insolvent laws. The federal constitution, and those of several of the states, have barred the introduction of these evils in regard to new transactions; and the states which are not chargeable with them, in regard to past affairs, have reaped, in the last three years an ample reward for their wisdom and virtue. Property may almost be called *the palladium of communities*. Their moral safety at least is always at hazard, when that is unwarrantably invaded. In every case wherein difficulties to obtain his own are interposed in the way of the honest and industrious citizen, his loss is not all the public injury. A fellow citizen—perhaps a member of a legislature (and through him a legislature itself) is fatally corrupted.

CONCERNING THE PUBLIC DEBTS.

When it is remembered, that the terms upon which the debts of the states were assumed by congress, are not more favourable than those on which the federal debt was funded, and when it is called to mind, that the unassumed debts of all the states are

* The mortgage law of Pennsylvania, and some other states, which exclude "the equity of redemption" create, on the whole, a more favourable ground for the rights of property in those places, than in Great-Britain. Those States are the most flourishing in the union.

less valuable in the market than those, which were assumed, it will appear, that the public creditors of the union have little reason to complain. When the advantages of the *temporary* irredeemability, and of the opportunity of investment in the bank are recollected, that little reason, if any existed, appears to be dissipated. On the other hand, when it is remembered, that long after the promulgation of the funding system and of the bank, the possessors of specie might have procured certificates upon very advantageous terms, and that many, who sold after those promulgations wanted confidence enough to hold, that United States draw a share of the profits of the bank without furnishing any of the capital, that the grant of irredeemability is *temporary*, and so perfectly *nominal*, that we have now a right to pay off more than we have money to discharge; when it is also borne in mind, that the terms given by congress to the public creditors, were exceeded (by law at least) in several of the states, and that two of them have added to the benefits of their citizens from the funding system, *without discriminating in favour of the original creditor, or against the present holder*, the arrangements of the general government appear to be *consistent with the public interests and with the wisdom of the state legislatures themselves*. If the funding system of congress has been thus *equally just and beneficial with those of the states*, it has been accompanied with many advantages which cannot be questioned. Public credit is restored—in consequence of that, the contracts for all public supplies are made for cash on the de-

liveries or performance—the money, thus early promised, is paid by anticipation on the proffer of indubitable security by the various contractors; and interest in favour of the United States has been allowed for the promptitude of her treasury—500,000 dollars of specie claims have been discharged; and purchases of the public debt, which bring the extinguished sum to about 2,400,000 dollars,* have been made, or provided for—a series of payments since the month of September (required by the most distinguished ally of the United States, in the late war) has been made to serve the occasions of their unhappy colonists. Loans upon five per cent. upon four and a half per cent. and upon four per cent. interest, have been effected in two opulent cities of Europe, solely by means of our restored credit, to repay in the hour of need, to that ally, the monies lent to the United States in a like season. All that is due has been paid, part of that which is not yet due has been anticipated. Monies anxiously desired by France, have been discharged by mean of loans at a lower interest. Both nations are benefited and pleased; but our country is honoured by the transaction. To have neglected our public credit, would have been to lose these advantages.

It will not be questioned, that there is in every walk of life or business a greater proportion of money than was observable two years ago. Public works

* A. D. 1791.

and buildings of every kind, and of species and values unknown among us till the present time, are undertaking every where. Private buildings, of equal variety, and comparative value, are springing up. The price of lands is greatly advanced. The raw materials, though raised in much greater abundance, sell for larger prices. To what pecuniary cause so powerful, so adequate, can these things be ascribed, as to the sales of part and re-animation of the whole, of a public debt, ten times larger than the amount of all the specie ordinarily circulating in the country? It ought to be admitted however that the sound *stamina* of this country, and our voluntarily imposing upon ourselves the wholesome restraints of just government have most powerfully co-operated.

The relief of some of the states from all their burdens, has been another beneficial consequence of the funding of the debt. It is but a few years since one of the most frugal, vigorous, and productive counties in Pennsylvania rose against the collectors of the taxes. The appreciation and sale of the immense mass of federal securities, owned by that state, with the proceeds of her funds have enabled her to discharge all her obligations, though she has abolished her general land tax, and discontinued her excise, both of which she has collected for forty years.

Some anxiety has been created by the share of our debt, which foreigners have obtained. But this was a powerful means of bringing the whole

into its present beneficial action, by elevating its actual to its nominal value. It is not at all probable, that it will be drawn from the country. It has been observed, in the most tranquil and prosperous condition of Europe, that a great proportion of the families of those foreigners, who have made large investments in the United States, either in the times of the provinces, or since the revolution, have become inhabitants of this country, even when in its unproductive infant state. At this serious moment, when almost every transatlantic country feels or apprehends disorders, our chances are infinitely increased. The United States, advanced in the means of subsistence, of comfort, and of elegance, now present to them an object of greater desire in a tranquil liberty, which they are struggling to obtain, a teeming agriculture, and a prosperous commerce, both foreign and internal. Conformable with these reflections, we may affirm, that no great object in our affairs has failed to attract the notice of the foreigners, who have engaged in our funds. The internal navigation of South-Carolina, North-Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, and New-York, are among the witnesses of this truth. The banks both national and state, the turnpike roads, and toll bridges, the sales of city estates, of cultivated farms, and particularly of unimproved lands, commerce, ship-building, manufactures, confirm the fact. Let us continue to exhibit *a strictly honest spirit* in our laws and constitutions, *an efficient execution* of them and *an abstinence from unnecessary wars*, and there

cannot exist a doubt, that we shall draw much more copiously from the population, the arts, and the funds of Europe, than they will draw from those of the United States.

There exists in the United States one description of private difficulties and incumbrances, that must engage the solicitude of every feeling mind, which, by an examination into the detail and interior of our affairs, has been led to observe them. The cases alluded to are those of the citizens of two or three of the states, who are burdened with heavy foreign debts or claims, which originated before the revolution. Whatever they may be finally adjudged to pay, the sum must be so great, and due from so many persons, as to give it the resemblance of a public debt: and as in one of those states it has already occasioned some sacrifices of their principal landed estates, very far below their value, so it will probably operate in the others, unless some extensive means, abundantly adequate the occasion, can be brought to operate, before or at least at the time of executing the judgments of the courts, which may be obtained. No resource, competent to the purpose, appears at all likely to present itself, unless it be the funded debt or stock of the United States and of the several states. The method by which this description of property can be rendered most immediately and effectually subservient to the interesting purpose of preventing the destruction of many families, would seem to be *the fixture of it at a stable, unfluctuating*

rate, adequate to its proper value, under the existing circumstances of the United States. It is manifest, that in such a state of the market, the dealers in the debt and others would sell out, and would not buy in again, and that they would seek objects for their money in the trade, the manufactures, the buildings, and the lands of the country, which might promise them more advantage. A tenth part of the value of the public debts, applied to the lands of the United States, would raise them every where to their real value, so that the debtor, who might be under a necessity to sell an estate, could dispose of his property, not only without a ruinous sacrifice, but probably to uncommon advantage. The proprietors of lands and buildings, which might be under this probability of sale, would sustain no risk or injury in selling their estates for the public stock.

It may be alledged, that the holders of the debt will not go into places so remote to make investments: but there are facts, which appear to warrant a very different opinion. The funds of New-England have been brought into Pennsylvania, for investment in lands of several kinds—the money of Pennsylvania and Delaware has been invested in mills and lands in Virginia—the greater part of the iron works of Maryland (the most costly estates in our country,) were bought and worked by the capitals of residents in Great-Britain before the revolution. The same fact existed in one great instance in New-Jersey. The greatest cedar swamp,

on the waters of the Delaware, that supplies the Philadelphia market, is owned in New-England; and people and vessels from that quarter, are annually sent to perform the business of it. The American public creditors, citizens of the United Netherlands, have recently purchased eight hundred tracts of land in a part of Pennsylvania, further from Philadelphia than the banks of James river, York, or Rappahannock. In short, if the history of this country were examined, as it regards' this subject, it would demonstrate, that the landed property of it has been constantly animated by the application of the monies of distant capital-ists.*

S E C T I O N V.

CONCERNING THE FOREIGN DEBTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

AT the commencement of the present government in 1789, the United States were indebted to France, Holland. and Spain, and to the foreign officers of the late army, in a sum amounting to near twelve millions of dollars. Near a million and

*A. D. 1794. Great purchases by late holders of the public debt and bank stock in Pennsylvania and New-York, citizens and foreigners, have been made in the district of Maine, in the state of Georgia, in the western and northern parts of New-York, in South-Carolina, in the most remote parts of Pennsylvania, in the state of Kentucky, in the federal district, in the Norfolk canal, in the Virginia lead mine.

two-thirds of this sum, was due for arrears of interest, inattention to which, would have been too disgraceful to have admitted of a hope of foreign credit, until measures were taken for its discharge. Above a million and one third of the principal sum had become due, and the time of other instalments was coming round. The resources of the country had been examined and considered, but not tried. The claims of these foreign creditors, were originally, the most delicate in themselves; and in the case of France, the state of her revolution in the summer of 1790, placed her demand in a situation peculiarly interesting. It was perceived, that the adoption of the federal constitution and the measures taken to restore public credit, had made strong and favourable impressions on the European money lenders: and it was not doubted, that the arrears of interest and the principal due, might be discharged by loans, upon terms which would produce very little loss. The requisite authorities were given by the legislature, which resulted in the borrowing of a sum equal to the discharge of all the exigible debt. But as the occasions of France were likely to be emergent, and there was reason to confide, that a firm and steady pursuit of the financial system, which had by that time been adopted, and an adherence to the upright spirit of the constitution, would rapidly meliorate the credit of the United States, it was deemed expedient to extend the authorities to borrow, to a sum equal to the whole of the foreign debt, provided the instalments, not due, could be

discharged by means of loans advantageous to the United States. The interest of above seven millions of the foreign debt, being at the rate of five per cent. per annum, it was not doubted, that the money might be obtained so as to render the discharge of the part, not exigible, really advantageous. It has accordingly happened, that a sum adequate to the principal and interest due, has been borrowed within the terms of the law, so as to support the credit and good faith of the United States, and critically to accommodate France. The further expectations of Congress have also been fulfilled; a considerable loan at four and one half, and two loans at four per cent. having been effected, so as to realize an advantage in the discharge of a large part of the principal, which was at an interest of five per cent. The United States having thus commuted their foreign debt, further than is due, with honour, and, on a medium of the whole, with advantage, are relieved by these operations from any probability of pressure to perform the remainder of their European engagements. The friends of our public credit, of our national safety and respectability, and of the freedom of France, among the citizens of the United States, will reflect upon this actual course of events with cordial satisfaction.

THE CONCLUSION: BEING MISCELLANEOUS THOUGHTS ON
THE GOVERNMENT.

The people of the United States enjoy a peculiar felicity in the possession of principles of govern-

ment and of civil and religious liberty, more sound, more accurately defined, and more extensively reduced to practice, than any preceding republicans. There is not one iota of delegating or delegated power, which is not possessed, or may not be acquired by every citizen. It is true, that there are in practice, several deviations in the distribution of power to the various subdivisions of the country, and to the proprietors of certain descriptions of property; but these are acknowledged departures from principle, and are known to have arisen out of the antecedent state of things. They could not be immediately corrected without violent struggles and disorders, and without injury to the property of descriptions of citizens, too great for the country, at any former period, to compensate. Mild remedies are, however, daily applied to these partial diseases; and it is manifest, that the course of time is diminishing, and will finally remove them. The right of legislative interposition, on the part of the chief magistrate, which, in the practice of another country, has been commuted for a dangerous and injurious influence, is here wrought into the essence of the constitution, and is not only exercised in the independent and uncontrolled consideration of every resolution and bill, but by the practical application of the qualified negative.

The execution of the office of the chief magistrate has been attended, through a term of almost four years, with a circumstance, which to this nation and to the surrounding world requires no commen-

tary—a native citizen of the United States, transferred from private life to that station, has not, during so long a term, appointed a single relation to any office of honour or emolument.

The senatorial branch of the government has been created and continued in a mode preferable to that which is pursued in any other nation.

The representative branch is equally well constituted.

The military code, for the government of such troops as are occasionally raised and employed, is well calculated to produce discipline and efficiency, when time is allowed for the purpose, and consequently to render the United States respectable in the eyes of foreign nations.

All christian churches are so truly upon an equal footing, as well in practice as in theory, that there are and have been in the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the general government, persons of the following denominations—Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Independent or Congregational, Quaker, Lutheran, Reformed, Roman, and probably others, which do not occur. There have been, and indeed yet are, a few ecclesiastical distinctions in the state governments, which reason and time are rapidly destroying. It is easy to perceive, that religious liberty, supported by the national constitution, and a great majority of the state constitu-

tions, cannot but attain, in a very short time, the same theoretical and practical perfection in the remainder, which it has acquired in them.

The independency of the judiciary, as well in the tenure of their stations as in the permanency of their compensations under the federal constitution, and in most of those of the states, is an advantage over the ancient republics and the generality of modern governments, of inestimable value in regard to liberty, property and stability.

The United States, being without transmarine or separated dominions, are exempted from two inconveniencies, which have resulted from them. An immense naval force has been found necessary to defend such territories, and to protect the trade with them in time of war, and the difficulty of devising for them a free legislation, has hitherto proved insurmountable. The British nation declared, that they had a right to legislate for their colonies and dominions in America, Asia, and Africa in all cases whatsoever, and the revolution of the United States turned upon that cardinal point. When we observe, that the French nation, ardent as they are in the pursuit of liberty, have not yet been able to devise any system of government for their colonies without *a dernier resort* to the legislature of France, it will be a source of comfortable reflection to the friends of free and efficient government in these states, that we are not perplexed

by the necessity of so delicate, important, and difficult a political operation.

It has been unfortunate for most nations, as well ancient as modern, that they have had no settled pre-existing mode of altering, amending, or renovating their political system, to which they could resort without a deviation from the legal course of things, hazarding the public tranquility, and often freedom itself.—It is equally happy for the people of the United States, that in their federal government, and in most of those of the states, there exists a provision, by which those necessary and desirable ends may be obtained, with whatever zeal, without recurring to irregularity or violence.*

Fundamental principles being already settled by common consent, and being accurately and clearly recorded in the constitutions, the people cannot long mistake the nature of a measure, a law, or a political maxim, which is really opposed to those principles; and when the public judgment is decided upon any one or more derelictions of those principles of magnitude sufficient to induce an effort for reform, the will of the people cannot be successfully resisted or even suspended. The consequence of this state of things will be, that the mass of error will not easily accumulate, so as to become insupportable, being kept down by these orderly natural exertions of the community, to relieve themselves at an earlier stage of inconvenience.

* The inestimable *alterative* powers in the constitution of the United States &c. are here contemplated.

Too great a facility to change would, however, be likely to produce fluctuations, injurious to order, peace, property, and industry, and indeed to liberty itself: but as the mode of performing the amendatory or alterative operations is slow, and consequently deliberate, trivial or dangerous changes would be very difficult to accomplish. In this view there appears to be very little probability, that changes from free or representative government, will take place; or that any modification of hereditary power will be introduced into the governments either of the states or of the union. The people will never deliberately consent to the abrogation of those clauses in the several constitutions, which explicitly provide both in general terms, and in particular detail, for free or republican government. Nor does it seem easy, considering the degree of perfection we have obtained and the certain, constant, and moderate operations of the amendatory clauses, to accumulate sufficient public evil or grievance, to produce one of those convulsions, which the ambitious are wont to seize as the moment to introduce, by force, a despotic government. Even local circumstances conspire to favour the permanency of liberty in these states. Being too remote from any foreign nation, to render a war, requiring a great army, at all necessary, that instrument, so often used by ambitious leaders, is not likely to be placed within the reach of the enemies of freedom, *while the union remains entire*. It is worthy of the most particular observation and remembrance, that a dissolution of our government would immediately open

a door to this danger, as the several states or little confederacies, would each deem it prudent to maintain a larger army, than is now requisite for the whole. The history of Greece will instruct us that by this more than any other possible measure, we should be prepared for the military domination of some modern *Philip*, or some new *Alexander*. *A strong union and a tranquil liberty* would be miserably exchanged for such a state of things.

It is an evident truth, that the penal laws of these states have been gradually mitigated since the epocha of their independence, and it is no less true, that the number of crimes does not bear so great a proportion to the population, as was formerly the case, though an universal relaxation of the police took place in the late war. It is, an ill symptom of the actual state of things, in a society, when *mild laws, strictly executed*, are incompetent to the preservation of order and public happiness. Our penal codes are, upon the whole, among the least sanguinary, and it is believed, they are not cruel, even in those unhappy cases, which impel the community to extremities. The constitution of the United States has extracted all the gall from the punishment of offences against the national safety, by correcting the power of legislating concerning them with a mildness unknown to the systems of most countries. It is honourable to the humanity and magnanimity of the American people, that this proceeding flowed from them almost unanimously, four years after the revolution war. Future ages will do

justice to a nation capable of such an effort, at a moment so particular.

Taking the United States at large, there are few or no countries in which, at this time, the just demands of private creditors can be obtained by a more certain, a more expeditious, or a less expensive course of legal process. There are some local and a very few general defects yet existing; but they are vanishing before the spirit of the general and most of the state constitutions. There is no part of the public conduct of this country more striking, than the firmness with which they have applied the caustic to some inveterate cancers, which had been derived to their pecuniary system, principally from adventitious causes. It proves the existence of that virtue and fortitude, which qualify a nation for republican government. There are some exceptionable circumstances, yet to be done away; but the successful efforts, which have been made, justify a confident expectation, that they will yield ere long to the powers and influences which have eradicated much greater evils of the same kind.

THE recent date of these reflections on the state of the American union, will naturally render them an interesting portion of this publication. It may be matter of entertainment to the curious, and of instructive information to those, who engage them-

felves in the study of mankind, to know what the United States have been, have thought, and have done, in the antecedent stages of their political existence, but to the world in general the real nature and actual situation of their affairs at this time, and the prospects, which appear to arise out of them, are subjects of much greater importance.

CHAPTER X.

SOME IDEAS CONCERNING THE CREATION OF MANUFACTURING TOWNS AND VILLAGES IN THE UNITED STATES, APPLIED, BY WAY OF EXAMPLE, TO A POSITION ON THE RIVER SUSQUEHANNAH.

THE distance of the United States from the foreign consumers of many of their exported productions, and from all of the manufacturers of their imported supplies, have been placed among the most important considerations in favour of their pursuing, in conjunction with other things, the business of manufactures. To these inducements, of great and manifest strength in times of general peace, the present universal war among the European powers has added new force. It has become still more the interest of the United States to infuse into their towns and cities further portions of manufacturing capital, industry and skill. The following delineation of an establishment, which might be created by foreign or domestic capital, was intended to exhibit the various and extensive consequences in favour of the landholders and cultivators, which have invariably resulted from manufacturing towns. Every item in the enumeration, implies a demand for timber, fuel, grain, cattle, beer and other drinks, hemp, flax, wool, iron, flaxseed, or some other production of our lands and farms. Similar exertions on the sea coast might be equally or even more successful, as the manufactures of the productions, as well of the agricul-

tural states as of foreign countries, might be combined with those of the immediate vicinity.

REFLECTIONS ON THE AFFAIRS OF THE UNITED STATES, OCCASIONED BY THE PRESENT WAR IN EUROPE, RECOMMENDED TO AMERICAN AND FOREIGN CAPITALISTS.

It is highly prudent in every nation, seriously to consider the effects which great events in other countries may have produced on their affairs, and to anticipate, in time, the consequences, in regard to their interests, to which such events may possibly give rise. The enhancement of the cost of our manufactured supplies by the demand for the immense armaments by land and sea now making in Europe, and the impediments to *the cheap transportation of our produce* by the recent deduction of a large proportion of the vessels, which lately carried them *at peace freights*, with the impossibility of building in time a sufficient number of ships to perform the service, and to supply the purchases by foreign nations, render it a matter of the most comfortable reflection, that we have made such frequent and full examinations, of our capacities in the business of *manufactures*; and that we have made so great progress in the establishment of many of the most useful and necessary branches. There occurs nothing to warrant a belief, that we shall cease to maintain our course *in peace*. But it is manifest, that even in that desirable situation, the inducements to pursue manufactures are not a little increased by the advanced cost of our sup-

plies, and *the diminution of our carriers at peace freights* already mentioned. It will be wise then to devise new methods of increasing our manufactures, in order *to cheapen and multiply supplies, and to extend the home market for our agricultural productions*. It is moreover well worthy of remark, that in consequence of the war in Europe many articles of great importance in the building of houses, improving new plantations, and supplying the settled country, and the industrious poor, are said to be prohibited to be exported from Great-Britain, because they can be applied to military purposes, or may be wanted for themselves. However reasonable or customary in similar circumstances this may be, our citizens must actually be subjected thereby to additional expence, and the charges of improving and cultivating real estates must be increased. Manufactures of these prohibited kinds of goods are therefore rendered indispensable by the situation of that country, which is the principal foreign source of our supplies.

However improbable or impossible, war may appear* in the judgment of many or most of us, it can do no injury to remark, that the cost of our supplies would be so much increased by that worst of all possible events, and the vessels to carry our produce at peace freights would be so extremely diminished, if our own should be involved, that nothing but some such great and vigorous efforts as that suggested for consideration, could save our

* In the spring of 1793.

cultivators from a very inconvenient expence in procuring supplies, and a reduction of the market prices of many articles of their produce.

. It will be perceived, that the plan is laid upon a scale, which is not likely, at this time, to be carried into execution in any one place. It is necessary, therefore, to remark that it is not intended in any view, but *to exemplify what might be done with a given capital*. The owners, however, of certain great water situations, might safely and advantageously lay out their adjacent grounds in a town plat with such views, and they might sell, or let on ground rents, such ordinary building lots, or such situations for water works, as purchasers or tenants might apply for, leaving the plan to mature by time and the natural attractions and advantages of the several scenes; or improvements might be commenced upon a scale of 5,000, 10,000, 15,000 or 20,000 dollars, as capital might be obtainable, and prudence might appear to justify. In all events, it is conceived, that a profitable attention to our situation may be promoted, and possibly some reflections favourable to the United States, and to the proprietors of particular estates, and many vicinities, may be suggested by the publication of the plan at the present very interesting crisis.

A PLAN FOR ENCOURAGING AGRICULTURE, AND INCREASING THE VALUE OF FARMS IN THE MIDLAND AND MORE WESTERN COUNTIES OF PENNSYLVANIA, APPLICABLE TO SEVERAL OTHER PARTS OF THAT STATE, AND TO MANY PARTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

In a country, the people, the soil, and the climate of which are well suited to agriculture, and which has immense natural treasures in the bowels and on the surface of the earth, *the creation of a ready, near, and stable market for its spontaneous and agricultural productions, by the introduction and increase of internal trade and manufactures, is the most effectual method to promote husbandry, and to advance the interests of the proprietors and cultivators of the earth.* This position has been assumed, with the firmest confidence, by *one*,* and maintained and relied upon afterwards by others, of the most informed and sound minds in Great-Britain, in relation to the internal trade, manufactures, and landed interest of that kingdom, although it is an island possessing uncommon advantages in its artificial roads, canals, rivers, and bays, which, altogether, afford the inhabitants a *peculiar* facility in transporting their surplus produce with very little expense to foreign markets.

To a nation inhabiting a great continent, not yet traversed by artificial roads and canals, the rivers of which, above their natural navigation, have

* Hume.

been hitherto very little improved, many of whose people are at this moment closely settled upon lands, which actually sink from one fifth to one half the value of their crops, in the mere charges of transporting them to the sea-port towns, and others, of whose inhabitants cannot at present send their produce to a sea-port for its *whole* value, *a thorough sense of the truth of the position* is a matter of unequalled magnitude and importance.

The state of things in most of the counties of Pennsylvania, which are contiguous to, or in the vicinity of the river Susquehannah and its extensive branches, is considered to be really and precisely that, which has been described; and the object of this paper is to suggest hints for a plan of relief from the great expence and inconveniencies they at present sustain, by creating a market town for their produce *on the main body of that river*, at some proper place between the confluence of its eastern and western branches, and the lower end of its present navigation.

It is proposed that the sum of five hundred thousand dollars, to be applied as is herein after mentioned, be raised in either of the three following methods—that is to say, *either* by five thousand subscriptions, of one hundred dollars each, to the capital stock of a company to be temporarily associated for the purpose, without any exclusive privileges—*Or*, by the sale of one hundred

thousand lottery tickets, at five dollars each ; or fifty thousand tickets, at ten dollars each, the whole enhanced amount of which is to be redrawn in prizes agreeably to a scheme, which will be herein after exhibited—*Or*, by the application of five hundred thousand dollars, of the monies in the treasury (or otherwise in the command) of the state of Pennsylvania.—The inducements to the operation, either to the state, to the adventurers in the lottery, or to the subscribers of the stock of the associated company, will appear in the sequel to be an augmentation of about one hundred per cent. in the value of the property to be embraced—that is, in a profit of about one hundred per cent. on the monies to be raised or advanced for the purchase of the lands, and the erection of the buildings.

The application of the above sum of five hundred thousand dollars, might be as follows :

1st. In the purchase of two thousand acres of land on the *western* bank of Susquehannah, as a town seat to be regularly laid off in a *town or city for inland trade and manufactures*, with streets sixty feet wide, in oblongs of five hundred feet, fronting the south western or *prevalent summer winds*, by two hundred and twenty feet; each oblong to be intersected by a twenty foot alley, running lengthwise, or from north-west to south-east, so as to give *all* the lots *south-west* front exposures, or *south-west* back exposures, and outlets in the rear.

Dollars.

The purchase of the land, including the farm buildings which may be on it, and water rights, &c. would probably be at fifteen dollars per acre, for two thousand acres,

30,000

The contents will be a little more than three square miles. The shape might be two miles on the river, by a little more than one mile and one half running from the river.—The number of lots of twenty feet front, and one hundred feet deep, would be about twenty-six thousand.

2dly. In the erection of five hundred and ten stone and brick houses, of the value of three hundred dollars each (inclusive of the value of the lots,)

153,000

Two hundred and twenty stone and brick houses, of the value of five hundred dollars each,

110,000

Fifty stone and brick houses, of the value of eight hundred dollars each,

40,000

Ten stone and brick houses, of the value of two thousand dollars each,

20,000

Four stone and brick houses, of the value of six hundred and fifty dollars each,

2,600

Two mills for preparing hemp, which would often come down in boats, and on rafts from the rich new lands on the upper waters of Susquehannah and its branches, one thousand two hundred and fifty dollars each,	<i>Dolls.</i> 2,500
One mill for preparing flax,	800
One mill of about five hundred spindles, for spinning flax, hemp, and combed wool, to be divided into fifty shares, of one hundred dollars each, to increase the number of prizes,	5,000
One rope walk,	2,000
Two smaller ditto one thousand dollars each,	2,000
Two tan yards, one thousand five hundred dollars each,	3,000
Two smaller ditto,	1,500
One paper mill,	1,500
One flaxseed, hempseed, and rapeseed oil mill,	1,500
One grist mill,	2,000
Two bake houses, five hundred dollars each,	1,000

For putting and rolling mills, five thousand dollars each,	<i>Dolls.</i> 10,000
One steel furnace,	3,000
One soap boiler's and tallow chandler's shop,	500
One malt house,	2,000
One brewery,	4,000
Ten grain and fruit distilleries, of various sizes, averaging in value one thousand two hundred and fifty dollars, each,	12,500
One printer's office for the English language,	500
One printer's office for the German language,	300
Six blacksmith's shops, and naileries of various sizes, averaging five hundred dollars each,	3,000
Two cooper's shops, one three hundred, the other two hundred dollars,	500
One cedar cooper's shop,	200
Four hatter's shops, two at five hundred, and two at three hundred dollars,	1,600
One bleach yard and house,	1,000

Two fulling mills, one a thousand, the other one thousand five hundred dollars,	<i>Dolls.</i> 2,500
Two potteries, five hundred dollars each,	1,000
Four wheelwright's and chairmaker's shops, two at five hundred, and two at four hundred dollars,	1,800
Two coppersmith's shops, one five hundred, the other four hundred dollars,	900
Two pot-ash works, one three hundred, the other two hundred dollars,	500
One brass founders's shop,	600
Two painter's shops, one five hundred, the other three hundred dollars,	800
Two turner's shops, one five hundred, the other three hundred dollars,	800
Two water forges, one thousand five hundred dollars each,	3,000
Four tilt hammer forges, one thousand dollars each,	4,000
One tobacco and snuff manufactory,	800
Two boring and grinding mills for guns, scythes, sickles, &c. at one thousand dollars each,	2,000

Two skin-dresser's shops, five hundred dollars each,	<i>Dolls.</i> 1,000
Four lumber yards on the river, fenced, twenty-five dollars each,	100
Two gun smith's shops, one five hundred, the other three hundred dollars,	800
Two boat builders yards and sheds, one four hundred, the other three hundred dollars,	700
Four school houses, two for each sex, (part to be German) at three hundred dollars (twelve hundred) and four houses for the tutors, five hundred (two thousand) dollars,	3,200
One church for all denominations, to be used in rotation by every society, until any one shall have a place of worship of its own, when that society shall lose its right,	4,000
Two taverns, one four thousand, the other three thousand dollars,	7,000
Two stables, one in the vicinity of each tavern, for thirty horses and ten carriages, one thousand dollars each,	2,000
One hundred buildings, of the value of two hundred and fifty dollars each, half	

with, and half without cellars, for trades-	<i>Dolls.</i>
men's and manufacturer's shops, stables,	
&c. as occasion may require,	25,000

One large scale house to weigh loaded waggons, to be erected on the market square,	500
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One scale house to weigh hogsheds and other things, of less than one ton weight,	100
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One sail-cloth manufactory,	5,000
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One plumber's shop,	300
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Two brick kilns, yards and houses, eight hundred dollars each,	1,600
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Two twine and cord factories, five hundred dollars each,	1,000
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Four slaughter houses and yards,	1,600
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One starch work and dwelling house,	800
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One library of three hundred shares, of ten dollars each, to increase the number of prizes, to be composed of books relative to the useful arts and manufactures,	3,000
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One parchment manufactory,	500
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One glue manufactory,	500
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One pump maker's shed and yard,	100
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Charges of the superintendence of the execution, at one per cent.	Dolls.
	5,000
	<hr/>
	500,000
	<hr/>

The buildings above mentioned will form a town of one thousand houses, useful work shops and factories by water, fire or hand, all of stone or brick, which is larger by near one half than the borough of Lancaster. Being on the river Susquehannah, *a very great and extensive natural canal*, which, with its branches, flows through a country of fifteen millions of acres, and will be connected with the lakes, the position for a town must be considered as warranting a presumption, that the lots would be more valuable.—In order to extend this advantage, the buildings should be erected upon every second, or perhaps every third lot; whereby a number of interval lots would be left, which would be of nearly the same value.—A further advantage would result from such a disposition of the houses, as the vacant lots could be usefully applied to garden purposes, until they should be built upon. As the proposed houses and work shops would be of stone and brick, the possibility of the progress of fire, would be less, if the owners of the interval lots should build *wooden* houses hereafter, than if they were to erect such houses in a compact separate quarter.

The lots, without the scene, which should be first built on, would cost, after throwing out the

streets and alleys, about five dollars, and might be moderately estimated, were such a town erected, at the medium value of ten dollars.

This town being contemplated as such an *auxiliary* to Philadelphia, as Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, and Sheffield, &c. are to the sea-ports of Great-Britain, it would be necessary to connect it with that city *immediately* and *effectually*, by opening a good road to the Lancaster turnpike, by whatever might be necessary to give it the benefit of the communication with Philadelphia through the Swetara and Tulpohocken canal, through the Brandywine canal, and through the Newport and Wilmington roads, and by all other means which could be devised.—It would also be proper to connect it with the boroughs of Reading, Lancaster, York, Carlisle, &c. and with the western, north-western, northern, and other great roads.—Thus circumflanked, and with the supplies of wood-fuel, coal, bark, grain, cattle, hemp, flax, wool, timber, iron, stone, lime, forage, &c. which those roads, and the Susquehannah and its branches, would certainly and permanently afford, this place could not fail to become of very great profit to the subscribers or prize holders, or the state, and to the landed interest, both tenants and owners.—The expense of transportation from the nearest navigable part of the Susquehannah by way of Newport, is nine dollars per ton; from Middletown it is twelve dollars per ton, to sixteen dollars per ton; and as four-fifths of the state are on or westward of that

river, the immense saving, which would be made by a great and stable market like that contemplated, is equally manifest and desirable.

It may be asked, whether the owners of the houses, shops, and works would receive applications from tenants? The answer is, that they would themselves be induced to occupy some of them, that the boroughs in the vicinity have been greatly extended by the settlement of tradesmen, manufacturers and others, who depend upon them and upon the farmer, and that unless their inhabitants open canals to the Susquehannah, or discover coal in their vicinity, those boroughs which are not on that river cannot grow much larger, though the demand for manufacturers is steadily increasing with our population. It is regretted, that the latter increase of Lancaster has been inconsiderable. But the water works, and the works by fire, proposed in the plan to be erected, would attract and support tradesmen and the workmen requisite to proceed with the goods they would have begun, as is constantly the case in Europe.

It may be safely affirmed, that no part of the United States, at present half as fully populated as the five principal counties on the Susquehannah, offers so encouraging or so certain a prospect for an inland town.—It is, as it were, *the bottom of a great bag or sack, into the upper parts of which natural and agricultural produce is poured from the north-east, from the north, and from the west.*

It will be observed, that many water works, and objects requiring the moving power of water, are particularized in the plan. For which reason, and in order to procure all the public and private advantages, which are attainable, it is proposed to take some position, where the river can be so drawn out of its natural bed, as to create those mill-seats and falls. It is confidently affirmed, and is not at all doubted, that there are not wanting places of that great and valuable natural capacity.

Doubts may arise about the expediency of erecting some of the works. It is therefore observed, that those which are mentioned, are merely offered for consideration; none of them are intended to be urged: but it is believed, that most of them would prove, on examination, eligible.

The greater part of the private emolument would be realized, it is supposed, by the erection of nine hundred dwelling houses of various sizes (in any of which many kinds of manufactories could be pursued) and one hundred shops for such branches, as by reason of their producing loud noises, or unpleasant smells, or of their requiring greater room, could not be carried on among women and children, infirm, aged, or sick persons, or within the compass of an apartment in a common dwelling house. In that case, however, it would be manifestly prudent, to bring the unimproved mill-seats into view, that they might be in the way of early use and employment.

The reason of extending a view to the immediate erection of those water mills and other works is, that by their very great consumption of the raw materials and produce, which may be drawn by purchase from the farmers, they will as early and materially increase the benefits of the proposed town to the landholder and cultivator, without taking any hands from agriculture, or preventing any from going to it.

It will be proper to ascertain, with precision and certainty, what would be a reasonable value of two thousand acres of land, *thus purchased, and thus built upon*, that the inducements to the operation may be duly exhibited. The borough of Lancaster will appear to afford a mean of comparison, not too favourable, when it is remembered, that a position on the *west* side of Susquehannah, would give the proposed town a most extensive and fertile back country for its supplies by land, free from the expence and risque of any ferry ; and that it would acquire building materials, provisions raw materials, and the infinitely important article, *pit coal*, the very important articles, *timber* and *bark*, in the greatest abundance, and on the cheapest terms, by means of the navigable waters of the Susquehannah, and that its traders and artizans could transport produce and manufactures, and receive supplies from Philadelphia through the canal of Swetara, without any the least expence of carting.

An estimate of a town, consisting of the kinds and number of buildings particularised above, may be reasonably made as follows:

Dollars.

The actual first cost of all the various buildings above mentioned, is stated to be	500,000
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From these deduct the value of the four schools, and the church, seven thousand two hundred dollars, which would be public, and would be of no value to the owners of the town, as such, but as they might reflect value upon the houses, manufactories and lots: also deduct the sum of five thousand dollars, allowed for the charges of superintend- ance,	12,200
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Remain as the actual cost and real value of all the private buildings,	487,800
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The value of one hundred lots, to be given for twenty churches, and thirty-two for the market, court house, and jail, <i>nothing</i> , but as they reflect value on the other property in the town,	000,000
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The value of one thousand and ninety-nine lots, of the size of twenty by one hundred feet, on which the above pri-

vate buildings and works are to be erected, when they shall be completed, at one hundred dollars each, on a medium,	<i>Dolls.</i> 109,900
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The value of two thousand one hundred, and ninety-eight interval lots (lying between and among the private and public buildings, and exclusively of those without that part of the town plot, proposed to be built upon with the fund of five hundred thousand dollars) at eighty dollars on an average,	175,480
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The value of one hundred twenty feet lots, making twenty large lots equal to one hundred feet square, suitable for erecting twenty other mills, with the requisite share of the water right, at five hundred dollars for each mill seat,	10,000
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N. B. These will make, with the improved mill-seats, about forty, and will not require the height of water or command of a fall to be kept for more than a quarter of a mile. It is believed *much more* might be placed against this item.

The value of the exclusive privilege of keeping ferries, arising out of the ownership of the grounds, to constitute prizes,	5,000
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The value of twenty-two thousand lots, accommodated with streets and alleys, not within the part built upon as above, with the woods on them, and on the streets and alleys, for fuel and timber, the stone, lime, clay, &c. for building, at ten dollars per lot, to constitute prizes,	<i>Dolls.</i>
	220,000
	<hr/>
	1,008,540
	<hr/>

The several objects in the foregoing estimate of one million eight thousand five hundred and forty dollars to constitute prizes, to be drawn by the purchasers of five hundred thousand dollars worth of tickets: *a scheme of a lottery* more profitable than most, which have been exhibited, and which will moreover yield great advantages to every proprietor and tenant of lands within the sphere of trade belonging to the town.

Although such calculations and estimates as these ought always to be received with the utmost caution, and to be examined with strictness, yet there are circumstances, which, it is conceived, insure success to a well devised and well executed plan in the scene already mentioned.

A very great and increasing supply of all those things which can create, maintain, and extend a town; which can attract, cheaply support, and

certainly and thoroughly employ an industrious community, *forced by the nature of the river and country into this singular scene*, justify an affirmation, that *no such* situations for towns of inland trade and manufactures of *native* productions exist in the populated parts of the United States.—To estimate the value of the river, and the water works, and their permanent influence upon the prosperity and growth of such a town, let us for a moment suppose, that twenty similar mills, twenty unimproved mill seats, and a copious canal leading to the Susquehannah, were superadded to the present advantages of the borough of Lancaster.

It cannot but be perceived, that most of the American inland towns have been commenced without due attention to the powers of water, the advantages of interior navigation, and a copious and certain supply of other fuel, when wood shall become scarce and dear.—The whole number of the houses in the towns of some of the states is very inconsiderable, which is principally owing to their produce having passed on without any natural stoppage or heavy expence of transportation from their farms to their export market; or to *a scarcity of fuel* which has been created, and will be increased by their growth.

There will be a peculiar certainty and stability in the value of property in such a place as that contemplated, because its trade and manufactures depending upon our own laws, and upon our pro-

ductions, will not be subjected to the injuries and vicissitudes, which often arise from foreign restrictions and prohibitions, and from the defalcations of the imports of foreign and precarious tropical productions. On the other hand, every new discovery of a mineral or fossil, every addition to the articles of cultivation in the great landed scene, on which it will depend, whether for food or manufactures, will yield fresh nourishment and employment to its inhabitants.

In addition to the reasons already suggested for placing the town upon the *western* side of the Susquehannah, it ought to be added, with a view to the present and all other plans of establishing towns in this climate, that the eastern and northern sides of all waters in the United States, (the elevation, dryness of the soil, and other things being equal) are less healthy than the southern and western sides. As it further regards, that great concern, the health and comfort of the citizens, it also merits repetition, that by the plan proposed, no inadvertent or uninformed man will be able to build his house, or place of business in such a manner as to deprive himself of *the blessing of the summer winds*.

Altho' great stress has been laid upon a particular scene in the course of this paper, from *a thorough conviction of its fitness and value*, it is manifest, that many of the ideas will apply to such of the existing towns in the state of Pennsylvania and elsewhere,

as have a capacity to command, by due exertion, and at a moderate expence, water falls, coal, or inland navigation.—A diligent examination of their respective capacities, in those particulars, ought, upon the general principles suggested, to be made. It is also clear, that a very large part of those advantages may be gained at Harrisburgh, Middletown, the falls of Delaware, at the lower end of the Schuylkill canal, and most of the other canals in the United States, by such a power of water as has been mentioned above. In the states of Vermont and Kentuckey, in the western parts of Pennsylvania and New-York, in the north western and southern governments, and in general *at those places on the easternmost, or nearest parts of all the western waters, and the southern or nearest parts of the northern waters, where the internal navigation terminates, the whole of the above plan, in a maturer state of their population, will apply, with the most solid and extensive benefits to the cultivators and proprietors of the soil.**

WERE two or three manufacturing houses (or firms) foreign or American, to make a purchase of some fit situation to erect a variety of water works,

* The grounds around the lower falls of many of the rivers emptying into the Atlantic Ocean, are also very suitable for such a plan, because provisions, wood, coal, and raw materials may be transported to them coastwise and from foreign countries.

and were they to commence two or three several manufactories upon a considerable scale, and to reserve suitable situations and a command of water for a number of others which would follow, they could not fail to succeed in their respective branches, and they would greatly enhance the value of the purchased lands. It is unnecessary to repeat, in this place, the numerous circumstances in the situation and affairs of the United States, which ensure success to well selected establishments of manufactures, conducted with judgment and prudence.

CHAPTER XI.

ABSTRACT of Goods, Wares, and Merchandize, exported from the United States, from the 1st of October, 1790, to 30th September 1791.

Species of Merchandize.

		Quantity.
ASHES, pot,	tons of	3,083 ⁷⁴ ₁₀₀
pearl,	do.	3,270 ¹⁰ ₁₀₀
Apples,	barrels	12,352
Bricks,	number	737,764
Boats,	do.	99
Bellows, smiths,	pair,	4
Beer, Ale and Porter,	gallons	44,526
	dozens	719
Boots,	pair,	482
Boot legs,	do.	17
Brimstone,	pounds	3,280
Blacking or Lampblack,	do.	8,518
Bayberries,	bushels	18
Cider,	barrels	1,694
	dozens	310
Chalk,	pounds	20,000
Cotton,	do.	189,316
Coffee,	do.	962,977
Cocoa,	do.	8,322
Chocolate,	boxes	479
Candles, myrtle,	do.	348
wax,	do.	185
tallow,	do.	2,745
Cordage,	cwt.	3,533
Copper ore,	do.	20
pig,	do.	216
manufactured,	do.	1,480
sheet,	do.	296
Coal,	bushels	3,788
Cranberries,	do.	720
Corks,	gross	300
Corn fan,	number	1
Canes and Walking-sticks,	do.	598
Cotton and Wool Cards,	dozens	25
Carriages, Coaches, Chairs, &c.	number	85
Waggons and Carts,	do.	25
Duck, American,	pieces	653
Russia,	do.	30

<i>Species of Merchandize.</i>			<i>Quantity.</i>
Grain & Pulse.	Indian Corn,	busshels	1,713,241
	Oats,	do.	116,634
	Buckwheat,	do.	14,499
	Pease & Beans,	do.	165,273
Horns and Tips,		number	119,776
Hides,		do.	704
Hats,		do.	435
Honey,		gallons	1,740
Hops,		pounds	650
Hemp,		do.	1,544
Hay,		tons	2,006
Iron, wrought.	Axes,	number	979
	Hoes,	do.	200
	Drawing Knives,	do.	24
	Scythes,	do.	48
	Locks & Bolts,	do.	2,000
	Shovels	do.	261
	Skimmers & Ladles,	do.	15
	Anchors,	do.	175
	Grappels,	do.	18
	Musquets,	do.	160
	Cutlasses,	do.	72
	Knives and Forks,	do.	240
	Chests of Carpenters	do.	
	Tools,		4
Iron, castings.	Waggon-boxes,	do.	100
	Pots & Kettles,	do.	808
	Cannon,	do.	37
	Swivels,	do.	8
	Cannon Shot,	do.	1000
	Iron Patterns,	do.	12
	Pig,	tons	4,178 $\frac{3}{4}$
Iron, the Ton.	Bar,	do.	349 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Bundles,	do.	8
	Hoops,	do.	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
Indigo,		pounds	497,720
Leather, tanned and dressed,		do.	5,424
Lime,		busshels	1,320
Lead.	Sheets,	number	45
	Pig,	tons	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Shot,	pounds	6,473
Live Stock.	Horned Cattle,	number	4,627
	Horses,	do.	6,975
	Mules,	do.	444
	Sheep,	do.	10,377

<i>Species of Merchandize.</i>			<i>Quantity.</i>
Drugs & Medicine.	Glauber's Salts,	pounds	1,580
	Sarsaparilla, Pink,	do.	14,900
	Sassafras, Bark,	tons	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Sassafras-root,	do.	34 $\frac{1}{2}$
Earthen Ware.	Stone,	dozens	55
	Yellow, Queens,	crates	157
Flaxseed,		casks	58,492
Flax,		pounds	18,600
Feathers,		do.	904
Flints,		number	40,000
Frames of Vessels,		do.	1
	Scows,	do.	6
	Boats,	do.	10
	Houses,	do.	195
	Windows and Doors,	do.	31
		do.	75
Furniture, House.	Tables,	do.	18
	Bedsteads,	do.	78
	Desks,	do.	21
	Bureaus,	do.	59
	Sophas, &c.	do.	8
	Clocks,	do.	3
	Clock-cases,	do.	705
	Chests,	do.	5,134
	Chairs, Windsor,	do.	738
Fishery.	Fish, dried,	quintals	383,237
	Fish, pickled,	barrels	57,424
	Whale oil,	gallons	447,323
	Spermaceti oil,	do.	134,595
	Spermaceti candles,	boxes	4,560
	Whalebone,	pounds	124,829
Glafs Ware,		crates	21
	Window,	boxes	92
Ginfeng,		pounds	29,208
Groceries.	Cassia & Cinnamon,	do.	1,778
	Cloves & Mace,	do.	900
	Pepper,	do.	492
	Pimento,	do.	141,701
	Brown Sugar,	do.	73,304
	Loaf Sugar,	do.	1,157
	Other Sugar,	do.	1,200
	Raisins,	do.	400
Grain & Pulse.	Wheat,	bushels	1,018,339
	Rye,	do.	36,737
	Barley,	do.	35

<i>Species of Merchandize.</i>		<i>Quantity.</i>
Live Stock.	Deer,	number 4
	Hogs,	do. 16,803
	Poultry,	dozens 10,247
Merchandize, or Foreign Dry Goods,		packages 1,439
Molasses		gallons 12,721
Mill-stones,		number 2
Mustard,		pounds 780
Madder,		do. 1,034
Nails,		do. 130,293
Negro Slaves,		number 24
Nankeens,		pieces 7,072
Nuts,		bushtels 1,240
Naval Stores.	Pitch,	barrels 3,978
	Tar,	do. 51,044
	Rosin,	do. 228
	Turpentine,	do. 58,107
	Turpentine, Spirits of,	do. 1,172
Oil, Linseed,		gallons 90
Porcelain, or China Ware,		boxes 2
Powder.	Gun,	pounds 25,854
	Hair,	do. 1,276
Pomatum,		do. 45
Paints,		do. 1,520
Pipes,		boxes 1
Printing Presses,		number 4
Plaster of Paris,		tons 4
Provisions.	Rice,	tierces 96,980
	Flour,	barrels 619,687
	Ship Stuff,	do. 6,484
	Rye Meal,	do. 24,062
	Indian Meal,	do. 70,339
	Buckwheat Meal,	do. 422
	Oatmeal,	do. 6
	Bread,	do. 100,279
	Beef,	do. 62,372
	Pork,	do. 26,635
	Crackers,	kegs 15,346
	Hams and Bacon,	pounds 295,647
	Venison Hams,	do. 600
	Cheese,	do. 129,901
	Lard,	do. 522,715
	Butter,	firkins 16,670
	Sausages,	pounds 250
	Fresh Beef,	do. 92,269
	Ditto Pork,	do. 29,334

<i>Species of Merchandize.</i>		<i>Quantity.</i>
Provisions.	Carcases of Mutton,	number, 551
	Neats' Tongues,	barrels, 160
	Oysters, pickled,	kegs, 1,228
	Potatoes,	busshels, 22,263
	Onions,	do. 42,420
Reeds,		number, 15,450
Spirits.	American,	gallons, 513,234
	West-India,	do. 4,742
	French Brandy,	do. 158
	Peach do.	do. 753
	Gin,	do. 10,252
	Ditto,	cafes, 3,717
	Ditto,	jugs, 2,039
	Cordials,	cafes, 69
Sadlery.	Saddles, men's,	number, 414
	Bridles,	do. 402
	Coach Harness,	fetts, 74
	Waggon Geers,	do. 8
Shoes,		pair, 7,046
Soap,		boxes, 691
Sago,		pounds, 2,382
Starch,		do. 160
Snuff,		do. 15,689
Steel,		bundles, 1,375
Raw Silk,		pounds, 153
Silver,		ounces, 103
Salt,		busshels, 4,208
Spruce, Essence of		cafes, 94
Seed.	Garden,	pounds, 1,060
	Mustard,	do. 660
	Hay,	do. 60
	Cotton,	busshels, 109
Skins and Furs.		
	Morocco,	number, 132
	Calf, in hair,	do. 402
	Deer,	do. 1,063
	Seal,	do. 2,672
	Bear,	do. 37
	Beaver and Otter,	do. 100
	Deer Skins, dressed,	pounds, 48,031
	Ditto and other do. and Furs,	do. 980
	Ditto and do.	packages, 889
Tobacco, in hogheads,		number, 101,272
	Manufactured,	pounds, 81,122
Types.		boxes, 3

<i>Species of Merchandize.</i>		<i>Quantity.</i>
Tallow,	pounds,	317,195
Twine,	per 112,	19 $\frac{3}{4}$
Tow Cloth,	yards,	6,850
Toys, for children,	dozens,	112 $\frac{1}{2}$
Tin,	boxes,	9
Manufactured,	dozens,	15 $\frac{1}{2}$
Teas. Bohea,	chefts,	17 $\frac{1}{2}$
Souchong,	do.	492
Green,	do.	178
Hyfon,	do.	2,235 $\frac{3}{4}$
Vinegar,	gallons,	2,248
Varnish,	do.	60
Wines. Madeira,	do.	76,466
Other,	do.	32,336
Bottled,	dozens,	6
Wax. Bees,	pounds,	224,538
Myrtle,	do.	2,272
Whips,	numbers,	146
Wood. Staves and Heading,	do.	29,061,590
Shingles,	do.	74,205,976
Shook Casks,	do.	42,032
Casks,	do.	297
Laths,	do.	25,500
Hoops,	do.	1,422,155
Hoop-Poles,	do.	3,450
Masts,	do.	405
Bow-Sprits,	do.	42
Bombs,	do.	74
Spars,	do.	4,983
Hand Spikes,	do.	36,714
Pumps,	do.	80
Boxes and Brakes,	do.	56
Blocks,	do.	7,040
Oars,	do.	28,456
Oar Rafters,	do.	13,080
Treenails,	do.	45,905
Cedar and Oak Knees,	do.	1,067
Breast Hooks,	do.	50
Carlings,	do.	13
Anchor Stocks,	do.	809
Cedar Posts,	do.	10,453
Oak Boards and Plank,	do. feet,	963,822
Pine Boards and Plank,	do.	37,288,928
Other ditto and do.	do.	3,463,673
Scantling,	do.	6,237,496

<i>Species of Merchandize.</i>		<i>Quantity.</i>
Wood.		
Oak, Pine, &c. Scantling,	feet,	2,180,137
Oak and Pine Timber,	tons,	13,775
Lignumvitæ,	cwt.	1,180
Logwood,	do.	105½
Timber,	number logs,	38,680
Mahogany and Lignumvitæ,	number pieces,	3,251
Oak and Pine Bark,	cords,	499
Oak Bark,	do.	57
Ditto Ground,	hogheads,	1,040
Maft Hoops,	dozens,	148
Axe Helves,	do.	149
Trufs Hoops,	fetts,	15
Yokes and Bows for Oxen,	do.	197
Lock Stocks,	numbers,	4,000
Worm Tubs,	do.	6
Wheel Barrows,	do.	6
Wheels for Carts, &c.	do.	50
Spokes and Fellies,	do.	12,972
Spinning Wheels,	do.	17
Tubs, Pails, Bowls, &c.	do.	204
Value,		<hr/>
Add for two returns from Charleston,		<i>Dollars</i> 17,571,551 45 <i>Cts.</i>
just received,	}	827,651
		<hr/>
		<i>Dollars</i> 18,399,202 45 <i>Cts.</i>

See page 412.

A SUMMARY OF THE VALUE AND DESTINATION OF THE
FOREGOING EXPORTS.

	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Cts.</i>
To the dominions of Russia,	3,570	
of Sweden,	21,866	2
of Denmark,	277,273	53
of United Netherlands,	1,634,825	66
of Great-Britain,	7,953,418	21
To the Imperial ports of the Austrian Nether-		
lands and Germany,	362,010	21
To Hamburg, Bremen and other Hanse towns,	64,259	25
To the dominions of France,	4,298,762	26
of Spain,	1,301,286	95
of Portugal,	1,039,696	95
To the Italian Ports,	31,726	90
To Morocco,	3,660	50
To the East-Indies, generally,	318,628	46
To Africa, do.	168,477	92
To the West-Indies, do.	59,434	36
To the north-west coast of America,	3,380	
Uncertain,	29,274	75
	<hr/>	
	<i>Dollars</i>	17,571,551 45
To the above add the amount of two } quarterly returns, since received from } Charleston, South-Carolina, }	827,651	
	<hr/>	
	18,399,202	45
	<hr/>	

Treasury Department, }
October 1st, 1791. }

T E N C H C O X E,

Assistant Secretary.

CHAPTER XIII.

A RETURN OF THE IMPORTS INTO THE UNITED STATES, FOR
ONE YEAR, ENDING ON THE 30th DAY OF SEPTEMBER, 1790.

G OODS, subject to 5 per cent. ad valorem,		13,044,824	90
Ditto,	7½ per cent.	862,977	76
Ditto,	10 per cent.	624,674	59
Ditto,	12½ per cent.	0	0
Ditto,	15 per cent.	3,619	4
Spirits, of Jamaica proof,	gallons,	610,703	
Other distilled spirits,	do.	3,067,496	
Madeira wine,	do.	256,691	
Other wines,	do.	607,561	
Beer, ale or porter, in casks,	do.	70,564	
Molasses,	do.	5,900,128	
Brown sugar,	pounds,	17,380,746	
Loaf sugar,	do.	132,837	
Other sugars,	do.	177,279	
Coffee,	do.	4,013,355	
Cocoa,	do.	896,946	
Tallow candles,	do.	15,157	
Wax and spermaceti candles,	do.	4,224	
Cheese,	do.	88,771	
Soap,	do.	24,120	
Nails and spikes,	do.	1,579,947	
Snuff,	do.	2,198	
Indigo,	do.	32,283	
Cotton, [this article being free, there is no account of it kept by the collectors.]			
Tobacco manufactured,	do.	3,182	

<i>In American vessels from India.</i>	Bohea tea,	do.	1,502,995
	Souchong and other black teas,	do.	378,032
	Hyfon,	do.	631,310
	Other green teas,	do.	89,515
<i>In American vessels from Europe.</i>	Bohea tea,	do.	298,768
	Souchong, &c.	do.	71,354
	Hyfon,	do.	15,736
	Other green teas,	do.	9,212
<i>In Foreign vessels.</i>	Bohea Tea,	do.	9,612
	Souchong, &c.	do.	4,498
	Hyfon,	do.	4,644
	Other green teas,	do.	2,528
	Cables,	cwt.	635 1 10
	Tarred cordage,	do.	5257 2 5
	Untarred do. and yarn,	do.	900 3 14
	Twine or packthread,	do.	609 2 8
	Steel unwrought,	do.	5,427 1 2
	Beer, ale, porter or cider, in bottles,	dozens,	17,746
	Wool and cotton cards,	do.	780
	Salt,	bushels,	2,337,920
	Coal,	do.	181,885
	Playing cards,	packs,	19,066
	Pickled fish,	barrels,	3468
	Dried fish,	quintals	3,884 3 12
	Shoes, slippers, &c. of leather,	pairs,	49,003
	Ditto, of silk or stuff,	do.	20,701
	Boots,	do.	746

CHAPTER XIV.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE TONNAGE OF VESSELS, ON WHICH THE DUTY WAS PAID, IN THE UNITED STATES, FROM THE 1st OF OCTOBER 1789, TO THE 30th SEPTEMBER 1790, INCLUSIVELY.

TO WHAT NATION BELONGING.

STATES.	United States.		Mixed, or United States & Foreign.		France.		Great-Britain.		Ireland.		Spain.		United Nether-lands.		Portugal.		Imperial and Germany.		Hamburg and Bremen.		Denmark.		Sweden.		Russia.		Prussia.		TOTAL.			
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.				
New-Hampshire,	13,519	-	-	-	34	2,556	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16,109.	8		
Massachusetts,	174,728.	10	-	-	453.	6	19,382.	7	150	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	249	-	-	-	-	-	-	195,401.	9		
Rhode-Island,	9,525.	5	-	-	174.	4	95.	9	46.	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9,841.	9		
Connecticut,	30,616.	10	-	-	-	-	3,458.	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	34,075.	9		
New-York,	48,922.	6	-	-	1,129	36,843	-	1,807.	3	1,753.	6	1,763.	6	292.	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	226.	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	92,737.	9	
New-Jersey,	5,624.	7	-	-	79.	3	267	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,970.	10		
Pennsylvania,	52,987.	4	963.	8	3,234.	7	40,202.	10	1,800	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	284.	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	105,638.	5	
Delaware,	4,141.	3	-	-	-	-	1,782.	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,924	5	
Maryland,	57,608.	2	-	-	5,176	23,631	-	408	3,284	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	90,639.	2	
Virginia,	43,566.	2	-	-	2,121.	9	56,333.	8	83.	4	1,104.	4	668.	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	182.	9	-	-	-	-	104,000.	5	
North-Carolina,	19,833.	1	-	-	65	5,997.	8	213.	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	26,287.	5	
South-Carolina,	19,777.	2	-	-	623.	2	20,634.	7	900	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	46,483.	7	
Georgia,	11,250.	6	-	-	710.	9	15,767.	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28,540.	7	
Grand total,	492,100.	10	963.	8	13,801.	4	422,6953.	1	13,147.	2	8,772.	9	7,228.	3	2,849.	9	801.	9	1,948	1	2,415.	10	310.	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	761,710.	4

GENERAL ABSTRACT OF DUTIES, ARISING ON THE TONNAGE OF VESSELS ENT

S T A T E S.	UNITED STATES VESSELS.			UNITED STATES COASTERS.			UNITED STATES FISHERIES.			FRANCE.		GREAT-BRITAIN.		SPAIN.		Po
	Tons. 95ths.	Dols.	Cts.	Tons. 95ths.	Dols.	Cts.	Tons. 95ths.	Dols.	Cts.	Tons. 95ths.	Dols.	Cts.	Tons. 95ths.	Dols.	Cts.	Tons. 95ths.
NEW-HAMPSHIRE	10,893	650.34		1,560.	93.60		629	37.74		264	132	1,386	693	-	-	162
MASSACHUSETTS	96,564.25	5,822.98 $\frac{1}{2}$		46,063.94	2,767.56		29,560.27	1,774.70 $\frac{1}{2}$		404.57	202.28	22,495.93	11,251.21 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	248
RHODE-ISLAND	19,196.70	1,151.84 $\frac{3}{4}$		9,103.18	546.25 $\frac{3}{4}$		810.87	48.65 $\frac{1}{2}$		88.18	26.46	280.71	140.37 $\frac{1}{2}$	47	23.50	-
CONNECTICUT	19,728.63	1,183.72		8,098.48	487.70 $\frac{1}{2}$		913.32	54.80		-	-	3,966.71	1,983.23 $\frac{1}{2}$	59.59	29.80	-
NEW-YORK	40,334.47	2,720.85		5,725	343.38		567.24	34.3		1,503.24	751.60	25,154.47	17,576.56	243.24	121.62	1,563
NEW-JERSEY	1,213.24	72.79		4,567.92	274.34		-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PENNSYLVANIA	50,327.64	3,234.34		3,923.40	235.42		-	-		967	483.50	27,327.48	13,664.12	2,062.79	1,025.90	2,533
DELAWARE	4,610.23	276.61 $\frac{1}{2}$		1,187	71.22		-	-		-	-	1,913.24	956.62	-	-	-
MARYLAND	33,375.11	2,029.34		7,836.16	470.12 $\frac{1}{2}$		537.47	32.25		714.48	357.25	18,215.55	9,107.78 $\frac{1}{2}$	503	251.50	589
VIRGINIA	32,041.6	1,922.36 $\frac{1}{2}$		10,636.60	638.77		72.71	4.36 $\frac{1}{2}$		2,414.34	1,207.18	44,812.9	22,406.70	65	32.50	-
NORTH-CAROLINA	23,962.75	1,437.80 $\frac{1}{4}$		6,796.31	438.56 $\frac{3}{4}$		-	-		436.79	218.42	13,662.59	6,831.31 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-
SOUTH CAROLINA	22,497.55	1,349.75		4,675.38	280.77		25	1.50		339.5	169.52	20,827.80	10,413.47	1,670.32	835.14	5
GEORGIA	7,063.40	423.80		733.20	43.96		-	-		391.60	195.82	16,165.75	8,082.88	102.53	51.26	-
TOTAL	361,754.28	22,276.54 $\frac{1}{2}$		110,906.77	6,691.67 $\frac{1}{2}$		33,116.3	1,988.4 $\frac{1}{2}$		7,523.40	3,744.3	206,208.62	103,107.27 $\frac{1}{2}$	4,753.53	2,371.22	5,111

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, Register's Office, March 9th, 1792.

JOSEPH NOURSE, Register.

INTO THE UNITED STATES, FROM THE 1st OF OCTOBER 1790, TO 30th SEPTEMBER 1791.

UNITED NETHERLANDS.			GERMANY.		HANSE TOWNS.		DENMARK.		SWEDEN AND RUSSIA.			TOTAL AMERICAN TONNAGE.			TOTAL FOREIGN TONNAGE.		TOTAL FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC.		
Cu. Tons	95lbs	Dols. Cts.	Tons	95lbs Dols. Cts.	Tons.	95lbs.	Dols. Cts.	Tons.	95lbs.	Dols. Cts.	Tons.	95lbs.	Dols. Cts.	Tons.	95lbs.	Dols. Cts.	Tons.	95lbs.	Dols. Cts.
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13,028	781.68	1,812	888.40	14,840	1,670. 8			
437	131	65.50	-	-	-	-	531.16	265.68	319.92	160	172,084.51	10,359.13	24,131.42	12,046.60½	196,215.93	22,405.73½			
	100.51	50.26½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	29,110.80	1,729.90	516.45	240.60	29,627.30	1,970.50			
	100.21	50.11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28,740.48	1,726.22½	4,126.56	2,063.14½	32,867. 9	3,789.37			
31.85	1,079.71	539.85	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	46,626.71	3,098.26	39,544.47	19,448. 8	86,171.23	22,546.34			
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,234.69	302.94	-	-	5,234.69	302.94			
66.61	251.88	125.98	-	-	-	-	219	109.50	225.32	112.67	53,186.24	3,405.87	33,586.71	16,686.86	86,773	20,092.73			
	163	81.50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,797.23	347.83½	2,076.24	1,038.12	7,873.47	1,385.95½			
94.50	1,372.47	686.25	463	231.50	-	-	497	248.50	-	-	41,478.74	2,531.23½	22,354.55	10,699.22½	64,103.34	13,230.46½			
	180	90	-	-	-	-	194.43	97.25	-	-	42,750.42	2,565.50	47,665.86	22,947.59	90,416.33	25,513. 9			
	73	36.50	-	-	-	-	-	-	136.59	68.31	30,759.11	1,876.37	14,309 7	7,019.54½	45,068.18	8,895.91½			
28.11	194.68	97.36	-	-	2,603. 9	1,301.50	-	-	76.54	38.28	27,197.93	1,632. 2	25,767.79	12,883.38	52,965.77	14,515.40			
	243.88	121.96	-	-	218.54	109.28	-	-	-	-	7,796.60	467.76	17,122.45	8,561.20	24,919.10	9,028.96			
76.44	3,890.54	1,945.27½	463	231.50	2,821.63	1,410.78	1,441.59	720.93	758.47	379.26	504,061.76	30,824.72½	233,013.82	114,522.75	737,075.63	145,347.47½			

CHAPTER XVI.

CONTAINING A SUMMARY STATEMENT OF THE PRINCIPAL
FACTS, WHICH CHARACTERIZE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE,
AND THEIR COUNTRY OR TERRITORY.

THE people of the United States have exploded those principles, by the operation of which religious oppressions and restrictions of whatever description, have been imposed upon mankind, and, rejecting mere toleration, they have placed upon one common and equal footing every church, sect or society of religious men.

They have exploded, in like manner, those principles, by the operation of which, civil oppressions have been inflicted upon mankind; and they have made an unexceeded progress in their practice upon the principles of free government.

While the fermentations of a civil and revolutionary contest were yet operating upon their minds, amidst the warmth of feeling incidental to that state of things, they have recently examined with sober attention the imperfections of their national and subordinate civil establishments: they reflected, with due seriousness, on the numerous inconveniencies, which those imperfections had produced, and upon the awful scenes in which they

would probably be called upon *to suffer or to act*, if their civil constitutions should continue unamended: and they have since exhibited to the world the new and interesting spectacle of a whole people, meeting, as it were, *in their political plain* and *voluntarily imposing upon themselves the wholesome and necessary restraints of just government*.

On two occasions, at the distance of four years, personal character and the public interests have produced *an orderly and unanimous election of the chief magistrate of the United States*, without one, even the smallest, effort or measure of procurement.

During four years, the second station of executive public employment and all of the third* grade have remained in the same hands, nor have any changes taken place in the more subordinate, but a few from voluntary resignations and death.

The public debt is smaller in proportion to the present wealth and population of the United States than the public debt of any other civilized nation.

The United States (including the operations of the individual states) have sunk a much greater proportion of their public debt in the last ten years, than any other nation in the world.

* A. D. 1793.

The expences of the government are very much less, in proportion to wealth and numbers, than those of any nation in Europe.

There is no land tax among the national revenues, nor is there any interior tax, or excise upon food, drink, fuel, lights, or any native or foreign manufacture, or native or foreign production, except a duty of about four pence sterling upon domestic distilled spirits*. The greatest part of the public burdens are paid by an import duty on foreign goods, which being drawn back on exportation, it remains only on what is actually consumed. It is in that view the lowest in the world, and operates greatly in favour of American manufactures.

Trade has been encouraged by a drawback of all the import duty on foreign goods, when they are exported, excepting only a very few commodities of a particular nature, which are not desired to be much imported into, or consumed in the United States.

A national mint is established under the direction of the ablest practical man in the arts and sciences which this country contains—*David Rittenhouse*. It is provided by law that the purity and intrinsic value of the silver coin shall be equal to that of Spain, and of the gold coins to those of the strictest European nations. The government of

* A. D. 1793.

the United States foregoes all profit from the coinage: a political and wholesome forbearance.

The banks established in the several cities of Philadelphia, New-York, Boston, Baltimore, Charleston, Alexandria, &c. divide a profit of seven and an half to eight and an half per cent. per annum* at present, which is paid half yearly.

The interest of the public debt of the United States is paid quarter yearly with a punctuality absolute and perfect. There is no tax on property in the funds and banks.

The shipbuilding of the United States was greater in the year 1792, than in any former year since the settlement of the country, and it is much greater in the current year, than it was in the last. Generally speaking, the art of shipbuilding was never so well understood, never so well executed, nor was there ever a time when so many of the manufactures requisite for the furniture, tackle, apparel and arming of vessels were made in the United States.

The value of the manufactures of the United States is certainly greater than double the value of their exports in native commodities.

The value of the manufactures of the United States, is much greater than the gross value of all

* More might be said with truth.

their imports, including the value of goods exported again.

The manufactures of the United States consist generally of articles of comfort, utility, and necessity. Articles of luxury, elegance, and show are not manufactured in America, excepting a few kinds.

The manufactures of the United States have increased very rapidly since the commencement of the revolutionary war, and particularly in the last five years.

Household manufactures are carried on within the families of almost all the farmers and planters, and of a great proportion of the inhabitants of the villages and towns. This practice is increasing under the animating influences of private interest and public spirit.

The exports of the United States have increased in the last two years about fourteen per cent.*

Those exports consist in a great degree of the most necessary food of man and working animals, and of raw materials, applicable to manufactures of the most general utility and consumption.

* In the last three years they have increased from eighteen millions and one quarter: to twenty-six millions of dollars. September 30th, 1793.

There is not any duty upon the exportation of the produce of the earth, nor can such duty be imposed on any exported commodities : the exportation of produce may be suspended or prohibited.

Produce and all other merchandize may be freely exported in the ships and vessels of all nations (not being alien enemies) without discrimination.

The exports of the United States are five times the amount of the national taxes and duties*.

The amount of the outward freight of the ships and vessels of the United States, at this time, is probably equal to all their national taxes and duties. The inward freight is considerable. The earning of the fishing vessels, in lieu of freight, are also considerable. The coasting freights are greater in value than both the last.

All ships and vessels depart from the United States, fully laden, excepting a part of the East India traders.

A large quantity of tonnage is employed in the coasting trade.

A considerable quantity of tonnage is employed in the cod and whale fisheries.

The imports of the United States are less in value than the exports, deducting the outward freights

* They prove to be nearly six times. Sept. 30th, 1793.

of their own ships (which are returned in goods) the nett sales of their ships to foreigners, the property imported by migrators from foreign countries, and the public impost.

The very great proportion of the imports, which consists of manufactures, (and from raw materials, which America can produce) affords constant and inviting opportunities to lessen the balance against the United States, in their trade with one foreign country, holds out a certain home market to skilful and industrious manufacturers in America, and gives promises to the landholder and farmer, of a very increasing demand for their produce, in which they cannot be deceived.*

The imports of the United States, for consumption, have not been swelled in proportion to the increase of their population and wealth. *The reason is, the constant introduction of new branches of manufacture, and the great extension of the old branches.*

The imports, for consumption, into the United States are composed of manufactures in a much less proportion than heretofore, owing to *the same two causes.*

The imports of the United States have almost ceased to exhibit certain articles of naval and mili-

* Witness the steady price of our produce, during the embargo. A. D. 1794.

tary supply, and others of the greatest utility and consumption, owing also to *the same two causes*.

The imports of the United States, consist in a small degree of necessaries, in a great degree of articles of comfortable accommodation, and in some degree of luxuries: but the exports consist chiefly of prime necessaries, with some articles of mere comfort and utility, and some of luxury. The following will be found to be the quantities of some of the principle articles of exportation from the United States, during the year, ending in September, 1792.

3,145,255 bushels of grain and pulse (principally wheat, Indian corn, rye, beans and peas.

44,752 horses, horned cattle, mules, hogs and sheep.

1,469,723 barrels of flour, meal, biscuit, and rice, reducing casks of various sizes, to the proportion of flour barrels.

146,909 barrels of tar, pitch, turpentine and rosin.

116,803 barrels of beef, pork, mutton, sausages, oysters, tripe, &c. reducing casks of various sizes, to the proportion of beef and pork barrels.

231,776 barrels of dried and pickled fish,
reducing them to barrels of the
same size.

948,115 gallons of spirits, distilled in the
United States.

7,823 tons, 12 cwts. and 14 lbs. of pot-
ashes and pearl-ashes.

112,428 hogsheds of tobacco.

60,646,861 feet of boards plank, and scantling.

19,391 $\frac{1}{2}$ tons of timber.

18,374 pieces of timber.

1,080 cedar and oak ship knees.

71,693,863 shingles.

31,760,702 staves and hoops.

191 frames of houses.

73,318 oars, rafters for oars, and handspikes.

48,860 shook or knock-down casks.

52,382 hogsheds of flax seed.*

The imports of the United States are now generally brought directly (and not circuitiously) from the countries which produced or manufactured them—China, India proper, the isles of Bourbon and Mauritius, Good Hope, the southern settlements of America and the West-Indies, the Wine islands,

* The exports of the year of which the above are a part, amounted to 21,000,000 of Dollars—but the exports of the next following year (ending on the 30th September, 1793) amounted to 5,000,000 more, being 26,000,000 of Dollars. Provisions and raw materials have greatly increased. Of flour alone there were shipped 1,013,000 casks. See paper Y. Book 2d.

the countries on the Mediteranean and Baltic Seas, Great-Britain and Ireland, France, the Netherlands and Germany, Spain and Portugal.

Less than half the ships and vessels belonging to the United States, are sufficient to transport all the commodities they consume or import.

Their citizens may be lawfully concerned in any branch of foreign trade, whether carried on from the United States or from any other country.*

Their commerce is diversified and prosperous, and consists in importing for their own consumption, and for exportation; in the exporting, the coasting and inland trades; the Indian trade; manufactures, shipping, the fisheries, banking, and insurances on ships, cargoes, and houses. There is no branch of commerce foreign or domestic, in which every district, city, port, and individual, is not equally entitled to be interested.

The lawful interest of money is six per cent. per annum in most of the states: in a few it is seven per cent. in one it is five per cent.

The commanders and other officers of the American ships are deemed skilful and judicious; from which cause, combined with the goodness of their

* Except the slave trade, March 1794.

ships and of their equipment, insurances upon their vessels are generally made in Europe, upon the most favourable terms, compared with the corresponding risques on board of the vessels of other nations.

The separate American states (with one small exception) have abolished the slave trade, and they have in some instances abolished negro slavery; in others they have adopted efficacious measures for its certain but gradual abolition. The importation of slaves is discontinued, and can never be renewed so as to interrupt the repose of Africa, or endanger the tranquility of the United States. The steady use of efficacious *alteratives* is deemed preferable to the immediate application of more strong remedies in a case of so much momentary and intrinsic importance.

The clothes, books, household furniture, and the tools or implements of their trade or profession, brought by emigrators to America, are exempted from the import duty, and they may begin their commerce, manufactures, trades or agriculture on the day of their arrival upon the same footing as a native citizen.

There is no greater nor other tax upon foreigners or their property in the United States, than upon native citizens.

All foreign jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters is inconsistent with the laws and constitutions of

the United States; and with the settled judgment of the people.

Almost every known christian church exists in the United States; as also the Hebrew church. There has not been a dispute between any two sects or churches since the revolution. There are no tythes. Marriage and burial fees, small glebes, land-rents, pew-rents, monies at interest and voluntary contributions are the principal means of supporting the clergy. Many of them are also professors and teachers in the universities, colleges, academies and schools, for which interesting stations, pious and learned ministers of religion are deemed particularly suitable. There is no provision in the episcopal, presbyterian or independent church for any clerical person, or character above a rector, or minister of the gospel—and this is generally, if not universally the case. There are some assistant ministers, but no curates, or vicars: also several bishops without salaries.

The poor taxes in the United States are very small, owing to the facility, with which every man and woman, and every child, who is old enough to do the lightest work, can procure a comfortable subsistence. The industrious poor, if frugal and sober, often place themselves, in a few years, above want.

Horses and cattle, and other useful beasts, imported for breeding, are exempted by law from the import duty.

All the lands in the United States are free from tithes.

The medium annual *land rents* of Europe are greater per acre than the medium *purchase* is in the United States; including in the estimate the value of the old improved farms in America, and the great mass of unimproved lands.*

The military regulations and articles of war in the United States, are well calculated to maintain that strict discipline and thorough subordination, which are indispensable to the efficiency of an army. All the officers of the land and sea-forces are, by the constitution appointed by the president, with the advice and consent of the senate.

The production and manufactures of military supplies and articles, enable the United States to derive from their own resources, ships of war, gun-powder, cannon and musket-balls, shells and bombs, cannon and carriages, muskets, rifles and cutlasses, grapnels, anchors, sail cloth, cordage, iron, lead, cartouch-boxes, sword-belts, cartridge-paper, saddles, bridles and holsters, soldiers' and sailors hats, buckles, shoes and boots, leathern breeches, naval stores, sheathing paper, malt and spirituous liquors, manufactured tobacco, soap, candles, lard, butter, beef, pork, bacon, hams,

* A. D. 1793.

peas, biscuit, and flour, and other articles for the land or marine service.

The education of youth has engaged a great share of the attention of the legislatures of the states.

Night schools for young men and boys, who are employed at labour or business in the day time, have been long and beneficially supported, and the idea of Sunday schools has been zealously adopted in some places. Free schools for both sexes have been increased. Greater attention, than heretofore, is paid to female education.

The people of the United States are ingenious in the invention, and prompt, and accurate in the execution of mechanism and workmanship for purposes in science, arts, manufactures, navigation, and agriculture. Rittenhouse's planetarium, Franklin's electrical conductor, Godfrey's quadrant improved by Hadley, Rumsey's and Fitch's steam-engines, Leslie's rod pendulum and other horological inventions, the construction of ships, the New-England whale-boat, the construction of flour-mills, the wire-cutter and bender for card makers, Folsom's and Brigg's machinery for cutting nails out of rolled iron, the Philadelphia dray with an inclined plane, Mason's engine for extinguishing fire, the Connecticut steeple clock, which is wound up by the wind, the Franklin fire-place, the Rittenhouse stove, Anderson's threshing machine, Ritten-

house's instrument for taking levels, Donnaldfon's hippopotamos and balance lock, and Wynkoop's underlators, are a few of the numerous examples.

It is probable, that all the jewels and diamonds worn by the citizens of the United States, their wives and daughters are less in value than those which sometimes form a part of the dress of an individual in several countries of Europe. *All capital stock is kept in action.* There are no *descriptions* of men in America and very few individuals, at the active times of life, who live without some pursuit of business, profession, occupation, or trade. *All the citizens are in active habits.*

No country of the same wealth, intelligence and civilization, has so few *menial* servants (strictly speaking) in the families of persons of the greatest property.

Family servants and farming servants, who emigrate from Europe, and who continue soberly and industriously in family or farm service, for one, two or three years, very often find opportunities to better their situations, by getting into some little comfortable line of dealing, or trade, or manufacturing, or farming, according to their education, knowledge and qualifications.

America has not many charms for the dissipated and voluptuous part of mankind, but very many indeed for the rational, sober minded and discreet.

It is a country which affords great opportunities of comfort and prosperity to people of good property, and those of moderate property, and to *the industrious and honest poor* ; a singular and pleasing proof of which last assertion is, that *there are very few, if any, day labourers, in the city and liberties of Philadelphia, of the Quaker church.* That religious society is very numerous, but the sobriety, industry, and frugality which they practice, enables their poor quickly to improve their condition, in a country so favourable to the poorest members of the community.

That part of the tradesmen and manufacturers, who live in the country, generally reside on small lots and farms, of one acre to twenty, and not a few upon farms of twenty to one hundred and fifty acres, which they cultivate at leisure times, with their own hands, their wives, children, servants and apprentices, and sometimes by hired labourers, or by letting out fields, for a part of the produce, to some neighbour, who has time or farm hands not fully employed. *This union of manufactures and farming* is found to be very convenient on the grain farms, but it is still more convenient on the grazing and grass farms, where parts of almost every day, and a great part of every year, can be spared from the business of the farm, and employed in some mechanical, handicraft, or manufacturing business. These persons often make domestic and farming carriages, implements and utensils, build houses and barns, tan leather, manufacture hats,

shoes, hosiery, cabinet-work, and other articles of clothing and furniture, to the great convenience and advantage of the neighbourhood. In like manner some of the farmers, at leisure times and proper seasons, manufacture nails, pot-ash, pearl-ash, staves and heading, hoops and handspikes, axe-handles, maple-sugar, &c. The most judicious planters in the southern states are industriously instructing their negroes, particularly the young, the old, the infirm, and the females in manufactures—a wife and humane measure.

A large proportion of the most successful manufacturers in the United States are persons, who were journeymen, and in a few instances were foremen in the work-shops and manufactories of Europe, who having been skilfull, sober and frugal, and having thus saved a little money, have set up for themselves with great advantage in America. Few have failed to succeed. There appears to be least opening for those, who have been used to make very fine and costly articles of luxury and shew. There is not so much chance of success for those luxurious branches, *unless they are capable of being carried on in a considerable degree by machinery or water works; in which case they also will thrive if the necessary capital be employed.*—There is already some consumption of these fine goods in America, and as free an exportation of them (without duty, or excise) as from any country in the world.

The views of the government of the United States appear by its declarations, and by the strong-

est presumptive proofs to be *the maintenance of peace, order, liberty and safety*. Intrigues at foreign courts and secret or open interpositions or intermeddling in the affairs of foreign countries, have not been imputed to the government of this nation. They have not manifested any inordinate ambition, by seeking *conquest*, alone or in unity with any other nation, for they have not attempted to establish or raise a great or unnecessary navy * or army.

The United States have been prudently and unremittingly attentive to those objects, which enable a country to pursue, to an happy and profitable issue, unambitious, defensive and necessary wars. Amidst an industrious cultivation of the arts of peace, they have maintained and improved *the military organization of the whole mass of the able bodied citizens*. They have restored their public credit, as an indispensable mean of war, and they have successfully encouraged all those arts, by which the instruments of naval and land armaments may be expeditiously procured and created. Their measure of retribution to their public creditors, foreign and domestic, has been considered, by some intelligent citizens as even more than justice required. From an equal love of justice, and from prudential considerations, they have, by a formal act of the peo-

* The intended naval armament was manifestly proposed to restrain the pirates of Barbary ; and the measures relative to the additional regular troops, the draught of militia, and fortifications, are obviously grounded on justifiable caution and necessary defence.
April 1794.

ple, sanctioned a treaty recognizing the claims of the subjects of a foreign country against whom an infraction and non execution of the same treaty was alledged. Refraining most scrupulously from intrigues and influence in the affairs of foreign nations it cannot be doubted, that they will be aware of corresponding intrigues and influence in their domestic affairs, and that they will check the appearances of such attempts with displeasure and effect.

B O O K II.

B O O K II.

C H A P T E R I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE preceding part of this work was prepared for publication in the summer of the last year; but the epidemic malady, which occurred in Philadelphia, towards the end of that season, prevented the execution of the design at that time. Some observations and documents have since presented themselves, and are intended to be comprised in the second book. Most of the latter are calculated to render these views of our interests and capacities more particular and more clear. The observations principally relate to the present stage of our affairs, and will therefore be the more interesting, if they shall prove to be founded in truth and reason.

CHAPTER II.

REFLECTIONS UPON THE BEST MODES OF BRINGING THE
FOREST LANDS OF THE UNITED STATES INTO CULTIVA-
TION AND USE.

THERE remain at this time, in most of the American states, extensive tracts of land, covered with forests, applicable to every purpose of human life, for which wood and timber are required. No country, so well accommodated with navigation and adapted to commerce and manufactures, possesses as great a treasure of the same kind. The manufactures, which can be made immediately of wood, are no less numerous than important. Ships, boats, masts and spars, oars, hand-spikes, anchor-stocks, casks and other coopers ware of every size and kind, cabinet wares, and other household furniture, farming and mechanical implements and tools, staves, heading, hoops, boards, plank, scantling, joists, square timber, shingles, frames of houses, turners wares, carriages for pleasure and for draught, corn-fans, wheel barrows, measures, scale plates, timber for machinery and mills, cannon carriages, gun-stocks and other military implements for the sea and land service are among the objects contemplated.

The manufactures, to which wood is necessary in the form of fuel, are also numerous and important.

Glass-houses, potteries, distilleries, brick-kilns, furnaces, forges, mills for rolling and slitting iron and other metals, refineries of sugar, black-smiths and all other smiths shops are among the principal instances.

The manufactures to produce which, wood is requisite for the making of ashes, are the great articles of soft and hard soap, which are of universal consumption and the very important articles of pot-ash and pearl-ash.

To all these may be added the manufactory of tanned leather, which demands the bark of various and innumerable trees.

Of the wooden raw materials and fuel for these invaluable and numerous manufactures, the United States possess, if we may so speak, *an immense and unequalled magazine*. They appear therefore to be invited to establish *manufactures in wood* by the most weighty and obvious considerations.

But when it is remembered, that this immense magazine of wooden materials and fuel will obstruct, for a time, the cultivation of millions of acres of the best lands, we must feel another and a more powerful impulse to the active promotion of manufactures in wood. To enforce these general ideas the following application of them in the manufactory of pot-ashes is here offered:

A METHOD OF CLEARING A FARM LOT OF NEW WOODLAND,
EASILY PRACTICABLE BY PERSONS HAVING NO MORE MO-
NEY OR PROVISIONS THAN ARE SUFFICIENT TO PROVIDE
THE FOOD AND CLOTHING OF THEIR FAMILIES, DURING
THE FIRST YEAR OF THEIR SETTLEMENT.

1st. The settler in making this clearing must take care to burn the brush and wood, in such manner as to preserve the ashes. Out of the wood ashes, thus saved, he should make as much pot ash, or pearl ash, as he can, and he should dispose of this for ready money, strong clothing, axes, spades, ploughs, or such other things for his farm, or family, as it would otherwise be necessary for him to procure, by selling or bartering, grain or cattle, if he had them to spare. It is believed, that the pot ash or pearl ash will procure him as much value as all the expence and labor of the clearing, during the season would be worth in cash. He will therefore obtain as much money or goods as will enable him to hire assistance, in the next season, either to farm, or to clear land, or to make his improvements, so as to save his own time, or labor intirely, for clearing more land, or to help him in doing it. He must again make pot ash or pearl ash, and he must again apply the money or goods, it sells for, to the clearing of the next season.—In this way it is plain, that he will derive money enough from the clearing and pot ashes, of every year, to do much of the same in the year following. A man who has 40, 50 or 100 dollars to spare, at the out-set, will get his land cleared, in this manner very fast indeed. If he has sugar ma-

ple trees on his land, he may also obtain money, by making sugar in February and March, and felling or bartering it for cash, or goods to be laid out in like manner, in hiring hands the next season. If money is scarce in a new settlement, and he barter pot ash or maple sugar, for strong trowsers, shirts, hats or jackets, he will find it easy to procure laborers for such necessaries. It is proper to observe, that if a man burns his wood and brush on every part of his newly cleared field, it is doubtful whether he does not injure the soil, by burning the half rotten leaves and light mould, or earth, which have been made from the rotten leaves of many years.—There is an opinion, that the ashes left from burning the trees greatly enrich the land, and that would be certain, if the light mouldy earth and half rotten leaves were not also consumed by the fire. The soil of all new countries appears to have for its upper part, a layer or stratum of half rotten vegetable materials, which are capable of being burned, but which it would be a great benefit to plough into the earth. Potatoes, the best food for new settlements, grow abundantly in that rotten vegetable soil. This is very well known.

It appears doubtful, whether the farmers in the long cleared counties of New-England, New-York, and New-Jersey, do not injure themselves very much by making pot ash and pearl ash, *considering how necessary the wood ashes are to manure their farms, many of which are impoverished, and*

many naturally light. To carry the fodder and litter from a farm to other places does not appear more improper. But that is allowed to be very bad farming.

2dly. The above method of clearing lands, is obviously important to people of large property, who are desirous of improving their estates and their country, by clearing their lands expeditiously. They may effect it in two ways; either—1st. by setting up pot ash works, at their mills or country stores, or other central places, and buying wood-ashes of the settlers of new fertile lands, and making them into pearl ashes, or pot ashes, and then selling them for exportation; or 2dly. by employing wood-cutters and other laborers, to fell the trees, and oxen or horses, with chains to bring the wood together for burning, then collecting the heaps of ashes and making pearl ashes, which is a simple and easy operation. It is said to be a fact, and it is highly worthy of notice that the expence of clearing an acre of land is fully and completely reimbursed, by the nett sales of the pot ashes or pearl ashes, which can be made from the wood ashes, collected after thus burning the trees—Hence it would follow, that if a person of substance should purchase one thousand acres of good new wood land, at any fixed or given price, (for example fifteen shillings, sterling per acre*) and

* This price is mentioned, because it is a low medium of the *land-rents* of Europe, and because great quantities of fine lands, covered with woods, are yet to be purchased, in America, at and far under that price.

if he should be able, by force of money, in one year to clear all the meadow land and half the plough land, by making pot ashes or pearl ashes, in the second mode above mentioned, he would immediately raise his property in productiveness to the level of the good cleared lands of Pennsylvania, New-York, &c. that is to seven, eight, ten, twenty, thirty and forty dollars per acre: for such are the prices, according to the quality, advantages of land and water carriages, and proximity to towns and villages. The capital or money employed to make the pot or pearl ashes would be replaced by the sales of them as above mentioned. *This operation, when considered upon a scale of 100,000 acres, appears like a new creation of property.*

THE United States have been brought, by slow degrees, to their present knowledge of the value of their wood and timber. It is said to be not more than twenty-five years, since the southern live oak or ever-green oak has been used in ship-building. The importance of pot-ash is by no means duly understood at this time, in several of the best wooded of these states. The value of the maple sugar tree is not yet universally known. It is said, that the Hemlock is capable of being made into shingles fit for home consumption or exportation, in a degree which is not understood; and the white pine is

more valuable, than is supposed, for the same purpose. The southern pitch pine, and even the yellow pine have been supposed, of late years to be more suitable than white oak for beams, carlines, fills, and other straight timbers for ships and houses, in places liable to rapid decay. It is little known, that it is as easy in America to procure a beam, for a ship of war, of white oak or pitch pine, in one entire piece, as it is difficult, in Great-Britain. The actual and progressive scarcity of all the most valuable kinds of timber in Europe has been hitherto noticed in as small a degree, as the diversified and unequal resources of the United States in that particular. The demand for wood and timber throughout the world has been greatly extended in the present century, by the increase of the aggregate tonnage of the fleets of public and private ships, by manufactures in wood, and by means of fire, and by the wonderful increase in the number and extent of the commercial and manufacturing towns of Europe and America. The tonnage of the British navy for example in 1694, bears no comparison to that of 1794, and their private ships have undergone a similar augmentation. The whole mass of the tonnage of the world is now immense. A defalcation of timber is perceived in most countries, and, in the manner of what has been said concerning grain, it may be safely affirmed, that *the unavoidable deficiencies of European wood and timber can only be supplied from America.* We shall therefore rapidly arrive at the use of our new lands, through the consumption of our forests

by the countries and colonies of the old world ; and the proceeds of our wood and timber in the mean time will be in lieu of the sales of grain and cattle.

The political importance of these great natural productions (wood and timber) is manifest and striking, in this age of manufacturing, and mercantile competition, and of naval rivalry and ambition. The value of our forests to the seekers of the carrying trade and of naval power is greatly increased by their yielding their possessors prodigious quantities of tar, turpentine and pitch. It would be unwise however, in the United States to neglect *the due preservation of their timber*: and considering how obviously important it is, that we maintain an abundant stock, it is a comfortable reflection, that the present redundancy and cheapness of American lands enables us to effect *the preservation and reproduction of our forests* with less inconvenience and expence, than any other civilized nation.

CHAPTER III.

CONTAINING THE TARIFF OF THE UNITED STATES, FOR
THE INFORMATION OF MERCHANTS AND MANUFACTUR-
ERS.

IT has been frequently observed in the course of the preceding pages, that the duties laid for the purpose of revenue, on foreign manufactures imported into the United States, are a great encouragement to similar articles, which are or shall be manufactured in this country. It is indispensibly necessary to a view of our affairs, that the advantages arising from the American impost to the manufacturer of any domestic fabric should be distinctly exhibited. This will be most easily effected by the following complete table of the duties payable by law on all goods, wares and merchandize, imported into the United States of America, after the last day of June 1794, and of the articles which are free from impost. It may be proper to observe, that these duties are in the case of importations in vessels of the United States, and that the rates are ten per cent. higher in foreign ships.

(For the Tariff see the next page.)

[PAPER Z.]

A

ARMS, fire and side, not otherwise enumerated,	15	per cent. ad val.
Apparatus, philosophical, especially imported for any feminary of learning,	free	
Ale, beer and porter, in casks,	8	cents per gallon.
———— in bottles,	8	ditto.
Artificial flowers, feathers and other ornaments for womens head dresses,	15	per cent. ad val.
Anniseed,	15	ditto.
Articles of all kinds of the growth, product or manufactures of the United States, spirits excepted,	free	
Anchors,	10	

B

Brass cannon, teutenague, and wire, see cannon,	free	
—— Iron or steel locks, hinges, hoes, anvils and vizes,	10	
—— All other manufactures of brass,	15	
Balls and balfams (see powders, pastes, &c.)	15	
Beer, ale and porter in casks,	8	cents per gallon.
———— in bottles	8	
Bricks and tiles,	15	per cent. ad val.
Bonnets and caps (see hats)	15	
Boots,	75	per pair.
Books, blank,	10	per cent. ad val.
Books of persons who come to reside in the United States,	free	
Buttons of every kind,	15	
Buckles, shoe and knee,	15	
Brushes,	10	
Bullion,	free	

C

Cannon of brass, from May 22, 1794, to May 22, 1795,	free	
———— after the 22d May, 1795,	15	
Carriages (see coaches)	20	
Cards, playing,	25	cents per pack.
—— wool and cotton,	50	cents per dozen.
Cables and tarred cordage,	180	cents per cwt.
Cabinet wares,	15	per cent. ad val.
Caps and bonnets (see hats)	15	

Carpets and carpeting,	15	per cent. ad val.
Cartridge paper,	15	
Candles of tallow,	2	cents per lb.
—— of wax or spermaceti,	6	
Capers,	15	per cent. ad val.
Canes, walking sticks and whips,	10	
Cambricks,	10	
Cheese,	7	cents per lb.
China ware,	15	per cent. ad val.
Cinnamon, cloves, currants and comfits,	15	
Chintzes and coloured calicoes or muslins, and all printed, stained or coloured goods or manufactures of cotton or of linen, or of both, or of which cotton or linen is the material of chief value,	12½	
Cocoa,	4	cents per pound.
Chocolate,	3	
Clogs and goloshoes (see shoes)	15	cents per pair.
Cordage, tarred,	180	cents per cwt.
—— and yarn untarred,	225	
Cosmetics,	15	per cent. ad val.
Coal,	5	cents per bushel.
Colours, (see painters)	15	per cent. ad val.
Copper manufactures,	15	
—— in plates, pigs and bars,	free	
Compositions for the teeth or gums (see dentrifice)	15	
Coffee,	5	cents per pound.
Cotton,	3	
Cotton or linen manufactures, or of both, or of which cotton or linen is the material of chief value, being printed, stained or coloured,	12½	per cent. ad val.
—— not printed, stained or coloured,	10	
Clocks and watches, or parts of either,	15	
Coaches, chariots, phaetons, chairs, chai- ses, solos or other carriages, or parts of carriages,	20	
Clothing ready made,	10	
Clothes, books, household furniture, and the tools or implements of the trade or profession of persons who come to re- side in the United States,	free	
Cutlasses, from May 22, 1794, to May 22, 1795,	free	
—— after the 22d May, 1795,	15	

D

Dates and figs,	15	per cent. ad val.
Dentrice powders, tinctures, preparations and compositions for the teeth or gums,	15	
Dolls dressed and undressed,	15	
Drugs medicinal, except those commonly used for dying,	15	
Drugs and wood for dying,	free	

E

Earthen and stone wares,	15	
Essences, (see powders, pastes, &c.)	15	

F

Fans,	15	
Fayal wine,	20	cents per gallon.
Feathers and other ornaments for women's head dresses,	15	per cent. ad val.
Fringes commonly used by upholsterers, coachmakers and fadlers,	15	
Figs,	15	
Flowers, artificial,	15	
Floor cloths and mats,	15	
Fruits of all kinds,	15	
Furs of every kind undressed,	free	

G

Glass, black quart bottles,	10	
—— window glass,	15	
——all other glass, and manufactures thereof,	20	
Glauber salts,	200	cents per cwt.
Gauzes,	10	per cent. ad val.
Geneva (see spirits)		
Ginger,	15	per cent. ad val.
Goloshoes (see shoes)	15	cents per pair.
Gloves of leather,	15	per cent. ad val.
—— all other gloves and mittens,	15	
Gold, silver, and plated ware,	15	
Gold and silver lace	15	
Goods, wares and merchandize imported directly from China or India in ships or vessels not of the United except teas, China ware, and all other articles liable to higher rates of duties,		
Goods, wares and merchandize intended to be re-exported to a foreign port or place, in the same ship or vessel in		

which they shall be imported—and all articles of the growth, product or manufacture of the United States, spirits excepted,	free	
Goods, wares and merchandize not herein otherwise particularly enumerated and described,	10	per cent. ad val.
Glue,	15	
Gun powder, from May 22, 1794, to May 22, 1795.	free	
———— after the 22d May, 1795,	10	
H		
Hangers,	15	
Hair powder,	15	
Hats—of beaver, felt, wool, or a mixture of any of them,	15	
—— all other hats, caps and bonnets,	15	
Hemp,	100	cents per cwt.
Hides, raw,	free	
Household furniture of persons who come to reside in the United States,	free	
I		
Implements of the trade or profession of persons who come to reside in the United States,	free	
Indigo,	25	cents per pound.
Iron wire,	free	
—— cast, slit and rolled,	15	
—— steel or brass locks, hinges, hoes, anvils, and vizes,	10	
—— all other manufactures of Iron, steel or brass, or of which either of these metals is the article of chief value, not being otherwise particularly enumerated,	15	per cent. ad val.
J.		
Jewellery and paste work,	15	
L.		
Lace of gold and silver,	15	
Laces and lawns,	10	
Laces, lines, fringes tassels and trimmings, commonly used by upholsterers, coach-makers and fadlers,	15	
Lampblack,	10	
Lapis calaminaris,	free	
Leather, tanned and tawed, and all manufactures of leather or of which leather		

is the article of chief value, not otherwise particularly enumerated,	15	per cent. ad val.
Lead and musket ball, from May 22, 1794, to May 22, 1795,	free	
————— after May 22, 1795,	1	cent per pound.
————— All other manufactures of lead, or in which lead is the chief article,	1	
Lemons and limes,	15	per cent. ad val.
Linen or cotton manufactures, or of both or of which cotton or linen is the material of chief value, printed, stained or coloured,	12½	
————— not printed, stained or coloured,	10	
Lisbon and Oporto wines,	25	cents per gallon.
Looking glasses,	20	per cent. ad val.
M.		
Manufactures of tin, pewter and copper,	15	
————— of iron, steel or brass, not otherwise particularly enumerated,	15	
————— of leather, not otherwise particularly enumerated,	15	
————— of lead not otherwise particularly enumerated,	1	cent per pound.
————— of cotton or linen, or of both, printed, stained or coloured,	12½	per cent. ad. val.
————— of ditto, not printed, stained or coloured,	10	
————— of glass (see glass)		
————— of tobacco (see snuff and tobacco)		
————— of wood (see cabinet wares and wood)		
————— of the United States, spirits excepted,	free	
Mats and floor cloths,	15	
Malt,	10	cents per bushel.
Marble, slate and other stone bricks, tiles, tables, mortars and other utensils of marble or slate, and generally all stone and earthen ware,	15	per cent. ad val.
Madeira wines (see wines)		
Mace,	15	
Medicinal drugs, except those commonly used in dying,	15	
Merchandise, goods and wares, imported directly from China or India, in ships or vessels not of the United States ex-		

cept teas, china ware, and all other articles liable to higher rates of duties,		
Merchandize, goods and wares, intended to be re-exported to a foreign port or place in the same ship or vessel in which they shall be imported—and all articles of the growth, product or manufacture of the United States—spirits excepted,	free	
Merchandize, goods and wares not herein otherwise particularly enumerated and described,	10	per cent. ad. val.
Mittens (see gloves)	15	
Millenary, ready made,	15	
Molasses,	3	cents per gallon.
Muskets and firelocks, with bayonets suited to the same, and musket ball, from May 22, 1794, to May 22, 1795,	free	
——— after the 22d May, 1795,	15	per cent. ad val.
Muskets and fire locks, without bayonets,	15	
Mustard in flour,	15	
Muffins and muslinets, printed, stained or coloured,	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	
——— not printed, stained or coloured,	10	
N.		
Nails,	2	cents per pound.
Nankeens,	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	per cent. ad val.
Nutmegs,	15	
O.		
Oranges,	15	
Ornaments for womens head dresses,	15	
Ointments, oils and odors (see powders, pastes, &c.)	15	
Olives,	15	
Oil,	15	
Oporto and Lisbon wine,	25	cents per gallon.
P.		
Paper hangings,	15	per cent. ad val.
—— writing and wrapping,	10	
—— sheathing and cartridge,	15	
Painters colours, whether dry or ground in oil, except those commonly used in dying,	15	
Packthread and twine,	400	cents per cwt.
Paste boards, parchment and vellum,	10	per cent. ad val.
Paste work and jewellery,	15	
Phaetons, see coaches,	20	
Plaster of Paris,	free	

Pewter manufactures,	15	per cent. ad. val.
——— old,	free	
Pepper,	6	cents per pound.
Perfumes,	15	per cent. ad val.
Pistols, from May 22, 1794, to May 22,		
1795,	free	
——— after the 22d May, 1795,	15	
Pictures and prints,	10	
Pimento,	4	cents per pound.
Pickles of all sorts,	15	per cent. ad val.
Printed, stained or coloured goods, or		
manufactures of cotton, or of linen, or		
of both,	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Philosophical apparatus, specially import-		
ed for any seminary of learning,	free	
Porter, beer and ale, in casks,	8	cents per gallon.
——— in bottles,	8	
Powder for the hair,	15	per cent. ad val.
——— gun powder, from May 22, 1794,		
to May 22, 1795,	free	
——— after the 22d May, 1795,	10	
Powders, pastes, balls, balsams, ointments,		
oils, waters, washes, tinctures, essences		
or other preparations or compositions		
commonly called sweet scents, odors,		
perfumes, or cosmetics—and all pow-		
ders or preparations for the teeth or		
gums,	15	
Plumbs and prunes,	15	
R.		
Raisins,	15	
Raw hides and skins,	free	
Rum, see spirits,		
S.		
Salt, see note*	12	cents per bushel.
Salts, glauber,	200	cents per cwt.
Stained, printed or coloured goods or ma-		
nufactures of cotton, or of linen, or of		
both,	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	per cent. ad val.
Salt petre,	free	
Saint Lucar wines,	30	cents per gallon.
Starch,	15	per cent. ad val.
Sail cloth,	10	
Slate, stone and stone ware,	15	
Saddles,	10	
Sattins and other wrought silks,	10	
Steel,	100	cents per cwt.

—— iron, or brass locks, hinges, hoes, anvils and vizes,	10	per cent. ad val.
—— all other manufactures of steel,	15	
Sheathing and cartridge paper,	15	
Sherry wine,	33	cents per gallon.
Sea stores of ships or vessels,	free	
Spermaceti candles,	6	cents per pound.
Sweet scents, (see powders, pastes, &c.)	15	per cent. ad val.
Spirits distilled in foreign countries, viz.		
From grain, First proof,	28	cents per gallon.
Second do.	29	
Third do.	31	
Fourth do.	34	
Fifth do.	40	
Sixth do.	50	
From other materials.		
First proof,	25	
Second do.	25	
Third do.	28	
Fourth do.	32	
Fifth do.	38	
Sixth do.	46	
Spirits distilled in the United States, im- ported after the fifth day of June, 1794, in the same ship or vessel in which they had been previously exported from the the United States, viz.		
From molasses.		
First proof,	13	cents per gallon.
Second do.	14	
Third do.	15	
Fourth do.	17	
Fifth do.	21	
Sixth do.	28	
From materials of the growth or produce of the United States.		
First proof,	7	
Second do.	8	
Third do.	9	
Fourth do.	11	
Fifth do.	13	
Sixth do.	18	
Spikes,	1	cent per pound.
Silver and plated ware,	15	per cent. ad. val.
——lace,	15	
Skins, raw	free	

Shoes and slippers of silk,	25	cents per pair.
——other shoes and slippers for men and women, clogs and goloshoes,	15	
——other shoes and slippers for chil- dren,	10	
Swords and cutlaffes, from May 22, 1794, to May 22, 1795,	free	
——after May 22, 1795,	15	per cent. ad. val.
Stockings,	15	
Stone and earthen ware,	15	
Soap,	2	cents per pound.
Solos and other carriages,	20	per cent. ad. val.
Sulphur,	free	
Sugars. From July 1st, to Sept. 30, 1794, inclusively.		
Brown,	$1\frac{1}{2}$	cent per pound,
Clayed,	$3\frac{1}{2}$	
Lump,	$3\frac{1}{2}$	
Loaf,	5	
Other refined,	$2\frac{1}{2}$	
From and after Sept. 30, 1794.		
Brown,	$1\frac{1}{2}$	
Clayed,	$3\frac{1}{2}$	
Lump,	$6\frac{1}{2}$	
Loaf,	9	
Other refined,	$6\frac{1}{2}$	
Sugar candy,	10	per cent. ad. val.
Snuff. From July 1st, to Sept. 30. 1794, inclusively,	10	
——From and after the 30th of Sept. 1794,	22	
T.		
Taffels and trimmings commonly used by upholsterers, coachmakers, and fad- lers,	11	
Tables of marble, slate, other or stone,	15	per cent. ad. val.
Tallow candles,	2	cents per pound.
Teas. From China and India,		
Bohea,	10	
Souchong and other black teas,	18	
Hyson,	32	
Other green teas,	20	
From Europe.		
Bohea,	12	
Souchong and other black teas,	21	
Hyson,	40	

Other green tea,	24	per cent. ad val.
From any other place.		
Bohea,	15	
Souchong and other black teas,	27	
Hyfon,	50	
Other green teas,	30	
Teneriffe wine,	20	cents per gallon.
Twine and pack thread,	400	cents per cwt.
Tin manufactures,	15	per cent. ad. val.
——in pigs and plates,	free	
Tinctures, (see powders, pastes, &c.)	15	
Tiles and bricks,	15	
Toys, not otherwise enumerated,	10	
Tobacco, manufactured,		
——From July 1st, to Sept. 30th,		
1794, inclusively,	6	cents per pound.
——From and after the 30th of		
Sept. 1794,	10	
Tools of the trade or profession of persons,		
who come to reside in the United		
States,	free	
V.		
Velvets and velverets,	10	per cent. ad. val.
W.		
Wares of tin, pewter and copper,	15	
——earthen or stone,	15	
——china,	15	
——gold, silver, and plated,	15	
——goods and merchandize imported		
directly from China or India in ships or		
vessels not of the United States, except		
teas, china ware, and all other articles		
liable to higher rates of duties,		
——goods and merchandize of the		
growth, produce or manufacture of the		
United States, (spirits excepted,)	free	
Wafers,	15	
Waters and washes, (see powders, pastes,		
&c.)	15	
Walking sticks, whips and canes,	10	
Wax candles,	6	
Watches and clocks, or parts of either,	15	cents per pound.
Wines, London particular Madeira,	56	per cent. ad val.
——London market, do.	49	cents per gallon.
——Other, do.	40	
——Sherry,	33	
——St. Lucar,	30	

——— Lisbon and Oporto,	25	cents per gallon.
——— Teneriffe and Fayal,	20	
——— All other wines (not to exceed, thirty cents per gallon in American ves- sels. or thirty-two cents per gallon in foreign vessels)	40	per cent. ad val.
Window glafs,	15	
Wire of brafs and iron,	free	
Wool and cotton cards,	50	cents per dozen.
Wool unmanufactured,	free	
Wood (unmanufactured)	free	
Wood manufactured (exclusive of cabinet wares)	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Y.		
Yarn untarred,	225	cents per cwt.
All other goods, not before particularly enumerated and described,	10	per cent. ad val.

To the encouragement to the manufactures of the United States resulting from the foregoing table, very considerable additions are to be made for freight, insurance, commissions, portages, costs of packages, premiums on bills, or other losses on remittances to Europe. The aggregate of these is unusually high at this juncture, for a season of peace.

There is no duty on exports, nor is there any prohibition of exportation, excepting the temporary instances of certain military articles.

NOTE. *The duties on Salt are at the rate of 12 cents per bushel of 56 lb. or less.*

CHAPTER IV.

A STATEMENT OF THE TONNAGE OF VESSELS, WHICH HAVE PAID DUTY IN THE PORTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, BETWEEN THE 1st DAY OF OCTOBER, 1791, AND THE 30th DAY OF SEPTEMBER, 1792, INCLUDING THE COASTING AND FISHING VESSELS.

<i>To what nation belonging.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>
THE United States,	549,279
The United States and foreign nations, jointly,	407
France,	24,443
Great-Britain,	209,646
Spain,	3,148
United Netherlands,	3,123
Portugal,	2,843
Hamburg and Bremen,	5,677
Denmark,	752
Sweden,	943
Total,	<hr/> 800,261 <hr/>

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, REVENUE-OFFICE,
JANUARY 21st, 1794.

TENCH COXE, Commissioner of the Revenue.

CHAPTER V.

AN ABSTRACT OF GOODS, WARES, AND MERCHANDIZE, EXPORTED FROM THE UNITED STATES, FROM THE 1st OCTOBER, 1792, TO 30th SEPTEMBER, 1793.

<i>Species of Merchandize.</i>		<i>Quantity.</i>
Ashes, pot	tons of	4,359 9
pearl	do.	1,807 6
Apples,	barrels	8,994
Bark of oak,	hogheads	3,108
————	cords	444
effence of,	gallons	208
Bricks,	number	683,070
Boats,	do.	73
Boots,	pairs	1,167
Shoes,	do.	15,102
Beer, porter and cider,	gallons	137,631
bottled,	dozens	776
Blacking or lampblack,	pounds	70
————	hogheads	100
Bellows's Smith,	pairs	1
Cotton,	bags	2,438
Chalk,	tons	16
Candles, Wax	boxes	48
Myrtle,	do.	18
Spermaceti,	do.	5,874
Tallow,	do.	9,857
Cordage,	tons	469 19
Coal,	busshels	14,719
Cranberries,	do.	166
Cards, Wool and Cotton	dozens	34
	hogheads	3,895
	tierces	1,914
Coffee,	barrels	10,175
	bags	1,789
	pounds	10,764,549
	hogheads	12
	tierces	55
Cocoa,	barrels	180
	bags	336
	pounds	133,675

<i>Species of Merchandize.</i>		<i>Quantity.</i>
Carriages. Coaches, chaifes & chairs,	number	54
Waggon, carts & drays,	do.	48
Wheel-barrows, &c.	do.	44
Copper,	packages	146
Duck,	pieces	2,630
Drugs and medicine,	pounds of	52,720
—————	packages	281
Saffafras,	tons	67 10
Earthen-ware,	crates	175
Flaxseed,	casks	51,708
Flax,	pounds	1,474
Furniture, House	packages,	44
Tables, bureaux, &c.	number	175
Windfor chairs,	do.	3,884
Chests,	do.	201
Fishery. Fish dried,	quintals	372,825
——, pickled,	barrels	45,440
Oil of whale,	gallons	512,780
Oil, spermaceti	do.	140,056
Whale-bone,	pounds	202,620
Grain and Pulse. Wheat,	busshels	1,450,575
Rye,	do.	1,305
Barley,	do.	30
Indian Corn,	do.	1,233,761
Buckwheat,	do.	330
Oats,	do.	78,524
Peas and Beans,	do.	40,620
Groceries. Loaf Sugar,	hogheads	9
—————,	tierces	6
—————,	barrels	59
—————,	pounds	27,554
Brown Sugar,	do.	4,539,809
Chocolate,	do.	7,432
Raifins,	do.	84,800
Almonds,	do.	13,900
Pimento,	do.	114,255
Cloves,	do.	500
Pepper,	do.	14,361
Ginger,	bags	478
Cassia and Cinnamon,	packages	351
Glass,	boxes	47
————,	packages	13
Ginseng,	pounds	71,550
————,	packages	188
Grindstones,	number	38
Hides,	do.	9,78

<i>Species of Merchandize.</i>		<i>Quantity.</i>
Horns and Tips.	number	91,142
Hats,	do.	2,777
Honey,	gallons	732
Hops,	packages	73
Hay,	tons	1,871
Iron. Nails,	casks	144
Axes, Spades, and Hoes,	number	951
Anchors,	do.	11
Grappels,	do.	215
Pots, kettles, & other castings,	do.	6,117
—, —,	casks	3
Cannon,	number	43
Shot,	tons	13
Pig,	do.	2,089
Bar,	do.	763
Hoops,	do.	27
Indigo,	casks	462
—, —,	pounds	690,989
Ivory,	packages	10
Lead. Pig,	number	241
Shot,	pounds	952
Sheet,	tons	1
Leather,	pounds	17,301
—, —,	packages	52
Lime,	bushels	748
Live Stock. Horned Cattle,	number	3,728
Horses,	do.	4,613
Mules,	do.	1,105
Sheep,	do.	12,064
Hogs,	do.	9,934
Poultry,	dozens	6,428
Merchandize, or Dry Goods,	packages of	4,136
Nankeens,	pieces	10,972
Tow Cloth,	yards	14,947
Molasses,	gallons	28,733
Mill-stones,	number	2
Naval Stores. Pitch,	barrels	8,338
Tar,	do.	67,961
Rosin,	do.	1,715
Turpentine,	do.	36,957
Spirits of Turpentine,	casks	93
Negro Slaves,	number	21
Nuts,	bushels	502
Oil. Linfeed,	gallons	1,183
Sweet,	boxes & baskets	1,168
Powder. Gun,	qr. casks	1,286

<i>Species of Merchandize.</i>		<i>Quantity.</i>
Powder. Hair,	pounds	12,810
Paper,	reams	75
Pipes,	groce	48
Paints,	kegs	102
Pearl,	boxes	67
Provisions. Rice,	tierces	134,611
Flour,	barrels	1,074,639
Bread,	do.	76,653
Crackers,	kegs	43,306
Rye Meal,	barrels	12,695
Indian Meal,	do.	37,943
Ship Stuff,	do.	3,871
Buckwheat,	do.	146
Beef,	do.	75,106
Pork,	do.	38,563
Neat's Tongues,	kegs	867
Tongues and Sounds,	do.	209
Hams and Bacon,	pounds	521,483
Butter,	firkins	9,190
Cheese,	pounds	146,269
Lard,	do.	597,297
Saufages	do.	2,863
Pickled Oyfters	kegs & pots	1,561
Potatoes,	bufhels	20,367
Onions,	bufhels & bunches	269,380
Reeds,	number	123,276
Spirits, American	gallons	665,522
Foreign,	do.	224,614
Gin,	cafes	10,761
Sadlery. Saddles,	number	1,114
Bridles	do.	997
Harnes	fetts	20
Soap,	boxes	6,620
Starch,	pounds	5,440
Snuff,	do.	35,559
Salt,	bufhels	1,107
Spruce, effence of	boxes	81
Silk, raw	pounds	104
Silver Sweepings,	casks	7
Skins and Furrs,	pounds	426,318
—, packages,	number	1,123
—,	do.	27,446
Tobacco,	hogheads	59,947
—, Manufactured	pounds	137,784
Tallow,	do.	309,366
Twine,	do.	3,760

<i>Species of Merchandize.</i>		<i>Quantity.</i>	
Tin,	boxes	121	
Teas. Bohea,	pounds	21,521	
Souchong,	do.	3,020	
Hyfon,	do.	17,672	
Other Green,	do.	7,725	
Vinegar,	gallons	3,473	
Varnish,	casks	24	
Wines. Madeira,	gallons	49,180	
Other Wines,	do.	180,929	
Bottled,	dozens	1,330	
Wax. Bees,	pounds	272,800	
Myrtle,	do.	1,273	
Wood. Lumber,	feet	65,846,024	
Timber,	tons	21,838	
————,	pieces	12,272	
Dye wood,	tons	319	10
Staves and heading,	number	29,734,854	
Shingles,	do.	80,813,357	
Hoops and poles,	do.	2,304,853	
Shooks,	do.	37,863	
Empty casks,	do.	6,944	
Masts and spars,	do.	5,052	
Oars,	do.	20,251	
Handspikes,	do.	19,169	
Pumps,	do.	43	
Blocks,	do.	4,814	
Treenails,	do.	91,632	
Spokes and Fellies,	do.	22,076	
Lock stocks,	do.	600	
Cords of wood,	do.	1,119	
Frames of houses,	do.	311	
———— of vessels,	do.	2	
Cart wheels,	do.	78	
Yokes and bows,	pairs	696	
Matt hoops,	dozens	27	
Tubs, pails, &c.	do.	95	

*Value of Goods, Wares, and Merchandize, Exported from the
United States.*

	<i>Dollars.</i>
New-Hampshire, - - - - -	198,197
Massachusetts, - - - - -	3,676,412
Rhode-Island - - - - -	616,416
Connecticut - - - - -	770,239
New-York - - - - -	2,934,370
New-Jersey - - - - -	54,176
Pennsylvania - - - - -	6,958,736
Delaware - - - - -	71,242
Maryland - - - - -	3,687,119
Virginia - - - - -	2,984,317
North-Carolina - - - - -	363,307
South-Carolina - - - - -	3,195,874
Georgia - - - - -	501,383
Total,	26,011,788

[NOTE.] Sundry returns from small ports, not yet received.

*A Summary of the Value and Destination of the Exports of the United
States, agreeably to the foregoing Abstract.*

	<i>Dollars.</i>
To the dominions of Russia - - - - -	5,769
the dominions of Sweden - - - - -	301,427
the dominions of Denmark - - - - -	870,508
the dominions of the United Netherlands - - - - -	3,169,536
the dominions of Great-Britain - - - - -	8,431,239
the Imperial ports of the Austrian Netherlands and Germany - - - - -	1,013,347
Hamburg, Bremen, and other Hanse Towns - - - - -	792,537
the dominions of France - - - - -	7,050,498
the dominions of Spain - - - - -	2,237,950
the dominions of Portugal - - - - -	997,590
the Italian Ports, - - - - -	220,688
Morocco - - - - -	2,094
the East-Indies, generally - - - - -	253,131
Africa, generally - - - - -	251,343
the West-Indies, generally - - - - -	399,559
the North-West Coast of America - - - - -	1,586
Uncertain - - - - -	3,986
Total,	26,011,788

Treasury Department, Revenue-Office, March 20th, 1794.

TENCH COXE, *Commissioner of the Revenue.*

CHAPTER VI.

MISCELLANEOUS FACTS AND OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING THE
STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, SUPPLEMENTARY TO THE FOURTH
CHAPTER OF THE FIRST BOOK.

IT has been already affirmed, that the business of ship building is in a course of extraordinary prosperity in the United States. From the books of the Inspector General of American commerce, under the British government, it appears, that there were built in Pennsylvania in the year 1769, no more than 1649 tons of new vessels; in the year 1770, 2354 tons; and in the year 1771, only 1307 tons. The return of new vessels, built in the state of Pennsylvania, during the year 1793, though a grievous epidemic malady was introduced, in that term, into its only sea-port, exhibits the number of 8145 tons. These vessels were generally built of the southern live oak and cedar, and were consequently, of the first class in value and excellency. This great increase of so capital a vehicle of commerce, is an evidence as well of the growth of trade, as of ship building. It is, however, proper to observe, that the measurement of 1771, was much less accurate, than that of 1793. The medium of the actual tonnage of the three former years, mentioned above, was perhaps 2,300 tons.

But there is a stronger proof of the growth of trade in the port of Philadelphia, and in the state of Pennsylvania. This results from the astonishing increase of exports. The aggregate value of all the commodities shipped from Philadelphia, to foreign countries, during one year, ending on the 30th September, 1792, was

3,820,646 *Dols.*

The aggregate value of the like exports, from Philadelphia, during one year, ending on the 30th September, 1793, was

6,958,736 *Dols.*

The aggregate value of the like exports, from Philadelphia, during one *half* of a year, ending on the 31st of March, 1794, was

3,533,397 *Dols.*

It is to be remembered also, that the epidemic malady, already mentioned, and the embargo in the last spring, interrupted the commerce of Philadelphia, during a term of nearly five months, in the close of 1793 and the beginning of 1794.

The exports of the state of Pennsylvania, during the year, ending on the 30th September 1793, were more than one fourth (*i. e.* nearly seven twenty sixth parts) of the exports of the whole of

the United States. The transportation of merchandize and domestic manufactures, coast-wise, and by land were also very great.

The catalogue of books at this time for sale, and which have been published by less than a dozen of the booksellers of Philadelphia, contains three hundred and twenty sets of different books, of one volume in duodecimo to eighteen volumes in quarto; also many charts, maps, and pamphlets, small histories and chapman's books. This precious branch, which diffuses indispensable knowledge in every line, yields large profits to the manufacturers, the artizans, and the United States, upon a small capital, in sheep-skins, lead, lamp-black and useless rags.

There are established in the city of Philadelphia, three incorporated banks, which may be safely affirmed to be in full and perfect credit, and to yield a better dividend, or half yearly profit, to their stockholders, than any similar institutions in Europe: they are,

1. The Bank of North-America, established in the year 1781.

2. The Bank of the United States, established in 1791.

3. The Bank of Pennsylvania, established in 1792.

The United States of America are interested to an amount much less than a major part of the stock in the second; and the state of Pennsylvania in a similar degree in the third. They are all banks of discount and deposit, and issue notes payable in specie, on demand to the bearer. Their organization is upon a plan and on principles nearly uniform, and very much like to those of the Bank of England. Foreigners are considerably interested in all of them. The Bank of the United States has many proprietors in other parts of this country. It has branches, or subordinate offices, in Bolton, New-York, Baltimore and Charleston.

The following table is extracted from authentic documents. The third column shews, in detail, the number of *taxable* inhabitants of each of the existing counties of Pennsylvania, and of the city of Philadelphia. The two preceding columns exhibit the number of the like inhabitants in two several years prior to the revolution.

A COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE NUMBER OF THE TAXABLE INHABITANTS OF PENNSYLVANIA, IN THREE SEVERAL YEARS BEFORE AND SINCE THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

	A. D. 1760.	A. D. 1770.	A. D. 1793.
The city of Philadelphia,			7088
The county of Philadelphia,			6885
The county of Montgomery,	8321	10455	4360
The county of Delaware,			2216
The county of Chester,	4761	5483	5270
The county of Lancaster,			6409
The county of Dauphin,	5631	6608	3481
The county of Bucks,	3148	3177	4644
The county of Northampton,			4697
The county of Luzerne,	1987	2793	1409
The county of Allegheney,			2510
The county of Huntingdon,			1717
The county of Washington,			5045
The county of Fayette,			2844
The county of Mifflin,	1501	3521	2468
The county of Cumberland,			3869
The county of Bedford,			2881
The county of Westmoreland,			3451
The county of York,	3302	4426	6974
The county of Franklin,			3570
The county of Berks,	3016	3302	5511
The county of Northumberland,			3878
	31667	39765	91177
	A. D. 1760.	A. D. 1770.	A. D. 1793.

On this interesting document, a single remark is sufficient irrefragably to evince, that the prosperity of Pennsylvania is much greater at this time, than it was in the year 1770. The ratio of the increase of taxable persons in 1793 would have been equal to the proportion between the years 1760 and 1770, if the taxables in 1793, had been 68,000; but they over run that number by more than 23,000. It may be truly observed, that the redundant population of New-England, the old counties of New-York, New-Jersey, the Delaware state, and Maryland, must have migrated into Pennsylvania in great numbers during the late war.

The following valuable table, relative to Pennsylvania, has been received from the editor of "*le Niveau de l'Europe & de l'Amerique*,"* and is inserted in this volume with his permission.

* "A comparative view of Europe and America," by M. Egron, of Philadelphia. It may serve any considerable public or private interests in this country, if documents elucidating such interests, should be transmitted to M. Egron, by the persons concerned.

THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

North latitude between $39^{\circ} 41' 30''$ and 42° . Its longitude from the meridian of Philadelphia from north to south 156 miles, at 69 miles to a degree. Its limits: on the north and north-east on the south, the state of Maryland and part of Virginia; on the west, the state of Virginia and Delaware, which separates Pennsylvania from New-Jersey and New-York: the Susquehanna, for and the Allegheny, which by their junction and courses form the Ohio: The Youghiogeny, the

Date of the foundation.	Names of Counties.	Length	Breadth	Population in 1790.	Square miles.	Acres of Land.	Population in miles square.	Chief Towns.
1683.	Philadelphia.	23	5 ¹	54,391	140	89,600	388 ^{7¹/₂ 7}	Philadelphia.
1683.	Bucks.	38	15	25,401	642 ¹ / ₂	411,900	19 ^{3⁸/₂ 8}	Newtown.
1683.	Chester.	44 ¹	22 ¹	27,937	861	551,400	32 ^{3⁸/₂ 8}	West Chester.
May 10, 1729.	Lancaster.	41 ¹	40	36,147	884 ¹ / ₂	566,240	43 ^{5³/₂ 3}	Lancaster.
August 10, 1749.	York.	64	24	37,747	1,630	1,043,200	23 ^{9⁵/₂ 7}	York.
January 27, 1750.	Cumberland.	37	28	18,243	978 ¹ / ₂	626,240	18.653	Carlisle.
March 11, 1752.	Northampton.	111 ¹	35	24,250	3,841	2,458,240	6.316	Easton.
March 11, 1752.	Berks.	67	29	30,177	1,610	1,030,400	18.743	Reading.
September 20, 1771.	Bedford.	77	50	13,124	3,310	2,118,400	3.964	Bedford.
March 21, 1772.	Northumberland.	180	80	17,16	9,202	6,145,280	1.821	Sunbury.
April 8, 1773.	Westmoreland.	50	40	16,018	1,991	1,274,240	8	Greensburg.
May 8, 1781.	Washington.	65	32	23,866	1,911	1,223,040	12.448	Washington.
September 26, 1783.	Fayette.	37 ¹	33	13,325	739 ¹ / ₂	473,280	18	Union.
September 9, 1784.	Franklin.	30	24	15,655	800	512,000	19.568	Chambersburg.
September 10, 1784.	Montgomery.	33	16	22,929	539	344,960	42.539	Norris-town.
March 4, 1785.	Dauphin.	45	25	18,177	916 ¹ / ₂	586,400	19.842	Harrisburg.
September 25, 1786.	Luzerne.	80	61	4,904	3,530	2,259,200	1.384	Wilkesbarre.
September 20, 1787.	Huntingdon.	76	35	7,565	2,239	1,432,960	3.378	Huntingdon.
September 19, 1789.	Allegheny.	131	40	10,309	7,019	4,289,920	1.538	Pittsburg.
September 19, 1789.	Delaware.	20	11	9,483	180	115,200	52.683	Chester.
September 26, 1789.	Mifflin.	72	27	7,562	1,851 ¹ / ₂	1,184,960	4	Lewisburg.
The city and 21 counties.				434,373	45,016	28,810,160	9.650	

SYLVANIA.

ia, between $0^{\circ} 25'$ east, $5^{\circ} 23'$ west. Length from east to west 280 miles. Its width the state of New-York; on the east, New-Jersey; on the south-east, the state of Delaware; the Western territory of the United States; and on the north-west, Lake Erie. Rivers: the d by two branches, one from the west and the other from the north-east: the Monongahela igh, the Juniata and the Schuylkill.

North latitude of chief town.		Meridian longitude of each town from Philadelphia.			S I T U A T I O N.	
9 ^d	57 ^m	s	0 ^d	0 ^m	0 ^s	on the west bank of the Delaware river.
0	14		0	12	0 East.	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the Delaware.
9	58		0	28	0 West.	16 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the Delaware.
0	2	30	1	9	0	10 miles from the Susquehanna.
9	17		1	30		8 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the Susquehanna.
0	11	30	2	0		14 $\frac{1}{4}$ miles from the Susquehanna.
0	21		0	4	30	at the junction of the rivers Lchigh and Delaware.
0	42			46	30	on the river Schuylkill.
0			3	21		28 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the Potowmack river.
0	51	30	1	42		at the junction of the W. and N. E. branches of the Susquehanna.
0	18		3	23		16 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the Monongahela.
0	11	30	5	7		17 miles from the Monongahela.
9	54		4	35		11 miles from the Monongahela.
9	56		2	28	30	25 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the Potowmack river.
0	7	30		11	30	on the Schuylkill.
0	15	20	1	42		on the east branch of Susquehanna.
0	13	30		46		on the north-east branch of the Susquehanna.
0	27	0	2	52		on the Juniata.
0	26	30	4	51		at the junction of the Monongohela and Youghiogeny, the union
9	51	0		13		on the Delaware. [of which forms the Ohio.
0	35		2	26		on the north bank of the Juniata.

It is a curious fact, that the price of produce at Pittsburg, three hundred miles from Philadelphia, is higher by fifty per cent. at this time, than it was fifty years ago in the city of Philadelphia. In the year 1739, wheat was sold in that port for two shillings and nine pence per bushel, flour for seven shillings and three pence per cwt. and Indian corn for one shilling and six pence per bushel. These truths are interesting to the interior land holder and to the political economist. The invention and information of the American cultivators and statesmen at the present time with the capital and numbers of the former, are powerful auxiliaries, which did not exist in the year 1739. The distillation of spirits of the highest proof, the production of silk, the supplies of the army, the cultivation of tobacco, hemp, and flax, the manufactory of salt, cheese, butter, pot-ash, flaxseed oil, leather, steel, rolled, and slit iron, and the finest flour, with furnaces, forges, canals, and turnpikes, greatly reduce the charges of transportation, and increase the value of natural and agricultural productions in the midland and western counties. These advantages may perhaps be easily extended, if the city of Philadelphia and the interior towns and villages will pursue such of the ideas, suggested in the tenth chapter of the first book, as may be convenient to their situation, and to the pecuniary circumstances of their inhabitants.

The interior of Pennsylvania is peculiarly adapted and impelled to the manufactory of glass, earth-

en ware, stone ware, and iron ware. The forests on the Delaware, Lehigh, Lehiwaxen, Schuylkill, Susquehanna, and its two branches, and on Juniata, and Penn's creek, are now so near to a great population, that immense quantities of those several manufactures might be delivered by water carriage. On the completion of the canals they might be transported, in like manner, to Philadelphia and from thence to foreign countries.

The healthiness of the climate of Philadelphia is evinced by the fact that although it was established very long after the two next largest towns in the United States, New-York and Boston, yet it is little short of the size of both. The city and county of New-York, and the towns of Boston and Charlestown, contained in 1791 no more than 52,752 persons: the city and county of Philadelphia contained in the same year 54,391 persons. The counties of New-York and Philadelphia are both very small and much less than any other in their respective states. The latter is most populous. It must be admitted, that this increase is to be ascribed in some degree to the general prosperity of Pennsylvania, New-Jersey and the peninsula between the Delaware and Chesapeake bays.

A more direct proof of the healthiness of Philadelphia is to be deduced from the books of the Dispensary, a public charity from which medicine, advice and assistance are extended to the poor, under every disorder and disease, without expense.

In the year 1790 the patients, which were under the care of the institution, amounted to 1892 poor citizens and foreigners. Of these only sixty-three died. The want of proper food, raiment, bedding, nurfes, cleanliness, and safe and comfortable apartments, must have contributed to the mortality of a part of these, as the patients were generally working people and all *paupers*, and the funds of the Dispensary are applied in a very small degree to those articles. Medicine, advice and assistance are the chief objects of their plan.

A malignant fever similar to that of 1793 obtained an entrance into a few families in the close of the summer of 1794, but as the disease did not spread or extend in Philadelphia, though it did spread in the small airy town of New-Haven in Connecticut, and in the suburbs of Baltimore upon Fell's point, it is manifest that the climate of Philadelphia is not more disposed to that kind of malady than other large towns. Indeed the three instances of 1794 would prove it to be less disposed to promote such diseases, than smaller towns.

It may be considered as a fact strongly in favour of the industry, sobriety and tranquility of the city of Philadelphia, that its breweries exceed, in the quantity of their manufactured liquor, those of all the sea-ports in the United States. The corporation of the city wisely favour houses for the retail sale of beer and other malt liquors. Good regulations on the subject of intoxicating liquors are

infinitely important to health, morals, industry, property and good government: or in other words to the lives, prosperity, honor and happiness of the people.

The number of slaves of all ages and sexes in the city of Philadelphia has been gradually worn down to 273; and there are not more than 3000 in the state of Pennsylvania. The laws and constitution prevent their increase, and are silently and steadily working the abolition of slavery. The migration hither of a free yeomanry has been increased by the very limited number of slaves.

The variety and extent of the foreign commercial correspondence of the city of Philadelphia is very great. This is evinced by a well known fact, that in all the great branches of foreign trade the Philadelphians have taken a very considerable share. They commenced the American trade with India and China; they have pursued the commerce of Russia, though hemp and iron are two of the staple articles of Pennsylvania; they have entered more largely into the Dutch trade than New-York, though it is well known that Philadelphia did little and New-York much in that branch of commerce before the revolution; Philadelphia carries on much more trade, both external and internal in commodities not of her production, than any other port; which will appear to be clear, when it is remembered how much of its supplies and of those of the adjacent country are drawn from native manu-

factures, that its imports are very great and its exports are near seven twenty sixth parts of the whole shipments of the United States, and that it has a very large share of the coasting trade.

It is very extraordinary, that Philadelphia has never yet engaged in the cod and whale fisheries, though Britain and France have carried on the former on the American coasts, and they and the Dutch have pursued the whale fishery in very distant seas. These, it appears, may shortly become very good objects for the accumulated capital of Philadelphia.

There are in that city two incorporated companies for the insurance of houses and other buildings against fire, and two for the insurance of ships and merchandize against the dangers of the seas, enemies, &c.—Of these corporations (one against fire) existed before and three have been established since the revolution: further proofs of the accession of capital and expansion of the powers, capacities, and operations of that prosperous city.

Philadelphia is remarkably well accommodated by natural deposits of excellent materials for build- and improvements in its vicinity, and indeed within its boundaries: brick-clay, gravel, sand, limestone, and quarries of common stone and marble, with great forests of white and yellow pine, oak, cedar and other wood and timber on the waters of

the rivers Delaware and Schuylkill, which bound its eastern and western extremities.

The penal code of Pennsylvania, though never severe or cruel, has been greatly mitigated within a few years. In most instances ignominious, painful and sanguinary punishments have been commuted for a serious and edifying solitude, a sober and strictly temperate regimen, and a constant, regular, useful and very industrious employment. Experience appears to be in favour of the experiment.

It does not appear, that any of the American states make so large quantities of pig iron and bar iron as Pennsylvania, nor is there any state which appears to have in its bowels so much pit coal in situations favourable to manufactures of American productions and internal trade.

It is estimated, that taking into the calculation the extent and number of the existing forges and furnances of Pennsylvania, the new iron works of the last seven years are equal to one half of all those, which had been erected in the state during and before the year 1787.

OTHER and similar remarks might be added to this chapter, concerning the state of Pennsylvania, but enough has been said in this and the former

chapter* to give a general idea of that important member of the American union. This addition has been necessarily very miscellaneous and without any regular plan.

* See Chapter 4. Book I.

CHAPTER VII.

CONTAINING A VIEW OF THE SUBJECT OF FOREIGN DISTILLED SPIRITS, EXTRACED FROM A PUBLICATION IN THE YEAR 1789.

[PAPER T.]

THE quantity of foreign liquors, imported into the United States, is very great. The several species, commonly introduced, wines excepted, are unhappily the most injurious to health both of body and mind. Ardent intoxicating spirits, gross and unripened, form the present importations; viz. the rum of Great-Britain, Denmark, and Holland—the brandies of France and Spain—and the geneva of Holland. We may compute them at two millions of dollars, to which they certainly amount, besides rum made in the United States of foreign molasses: a distressing sum, indeed, if it were paid even for necessaries, which Providence had been pleased to withhold from us: a grievous sum, as it is paid (in provisions and other articles of prime necessity or universal value,) for a pernicious luxury: an alarming sum, comparing it with any reasonable estimate of our national revenues. When we reflect on this prodigious expence, no argument is necessary to convince us how detirable it is to vary, so far as we can, the kinds of liquors consumed, and to obtain substitutes on less

disadvantageous terms. Some ideas to these ends are here proposed for consideration.

If we suppose the rum, brandy, and geneva, imported, as above, into the United States, to be worth, on a medium, three shillings and four pence Pennsylvania money, or forty ninetieths of a dollar per gallon—then the quantity, so estimated at two millions of dollars, will be four millions five hundred thousand gallons.* By a mixture of three parts of water with one of rum, gin or brandy, we shall have eighteen millions of gallons of drink, as strong as porter or the stoutest beer. This quantity is equal to five hundred and sixty-two thousand five hundred barrels of those malt liquors, worth, at thirty-three shillings and four-pence (or four dollars and forty ninetieths) the sum of nine hundred and thirty-seven thousand five hundred pounds, or two millions five hundred thousand dollars, which immense value would arise from the barley and hops of our farms, and the staves and hoops cut out of our woods. The quantity of barley, necessary to make these five hundred and sixty-two thousand five hundred barrels of stout beer or porter, at four bushels to a barrel, is two millions two hundred and fifty thousand bushels, exclusive of the hops, staves, hoops, and firewood, necessary in

* It appears by the public returns of 1792, that 4,869,992 gallons of distilled spirits were imported into the United States during that year.

the manufactory. How comfortable to the country would such a manufacture be, in which few labourers are wanted, and wherein fire and horses perform so great a part of the work!—Impôts upon foreign liquors appear, in this view of the subject, to be a wholesome and efficient encouragement to agriculture, impelling us to what we ought to do, and very easily can perform. The superior virtues, both moral and political, of a country, which consumes malt liquors, instead of distilled spirits, need only to be mentioned.

In addition to these substitutes for foreign liquors, drawn from native productions, we may add cider and metheglin; of which large quantities can be made, and which will come into more general use, as agriculture advances, and economy prevails. We might mention also the spirits of fruit and grain; but it must be acknowledged that the domestic manufacture of ardent spirits from fruits and grain, threatens this country, no less than foreign liquors, with much public and private evil. Beer and cider would yield the farmer as great benefits, and are subject to fewer disadvantages. The friends of internal peace and order, and of practical religion—the advocates and promoters of American manufactures—the great body of farmers and planters—in short, all classes of our citizens have manifestly an interest in promoting the manufacture and consumption of those valuable articles, beer, porter, cider, and metheglin.

This review of our resources for the expensive article of liquors, is taken with a design to place the subject properly before us. Its magnitude will inspire us with a disposition to proportionate exertions. Sufficient means present themselves, by which we may be relieved of this immense tribute to foreign nations, some of whom require us not only to give them in exchange articles of the first intrinsic value, but even to pay them for bringing it to our own ports.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCERNING THE PUBLIC DEBTS, AND REVENUES OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE foreign and domestic debts of the United States of America, as they appeared upon their 'public books on the first day of the current year, 1794, amounted to a little more than seventy-four millions of dollars. From this sum seven or eight millions are to be deducted, being different kinds of stock purchased in by means of the sinking fund or due upon the books or upon certificates from the United States to several of the members of the union: that is to themselves. Of the entire balance, about fourteen millions will not bear interest until the year 1800. Much of the debt bears an interest at one half of the established rate of this country. Some of it bears an interest of two-thirds, some of three-fourths, and some of four-fifths of the medium of the legal interest of the states. It therefore results that forty-eight millions of dollars in specie, about £.11,000,000 sterling, would purchase or discharge all the debts of the United States, which they owe to individuals, or to bodies politic other than themselves.

The revenues of the United States were estimated in 1791 at 3,329,750 dollars; and in 1792 at

3,700,000 dollars. They have always exceeded the estimates.

The revenues of 1793, and 1794, are very much advanced and are in full proportion to the commerce, agriculture, and prosperity of the country. The surplus revenue of 1793 was estimated at 2,300,000 dollars. It was appropriated by law to the means of public strength and defence.

CHAPTER IX.

MISCELLANEOUS REFLECTIONS UPON CERTAIN IMPORTANT
FACTS AND CONSIDERATIONS, WHICH OCCUR, AT THE PRE-
SENT TIME, IN THE AFFAIRS OF THE UNITED STATES;
INTENDED AS A CONCLUSION TO THIS COLLECTION.

THE critical state of things during the last twelve months between the United States and the kingdom of Great-Britain renders it highly interesting to reflect, for a moment, on the present condition of our mutual commerce.

It is established by a recent investigation in Great-Britain, that in the year 1791 the United States of America took from that kingdom (exclusive of Ireland and the British East-Indies, from which they import many manufactures) the immense value, in British manufactures, of

Sterling, £.3,929,771 12 8

In the same year France, now at war with England, took, as the equivalent for the advantages of Mr. Eden's treaty, only

576,632 6 10

And Russia took 281,243l. 1s.
Denmark and Norway 219,803l.
11s. Sweden 36,259l. 4s. 6d. Po-
land 39,833l. 16s. 9d. Prussia
43,402l. 16s. 2d. Germany 778-
213l. 3s. 2d. Holland 692,725l.

8s. 3d. Austrian Flanders 387,399l
 7d.* Portugal & Madeira 657,388l
 7s. 3d. Spain and the Canaries
 582,914l. 4s. 3d. Gibraltar and
 the Streights (partly British de-
 mand) 224,673l. 16s. 9d. Italy
 932,148l. 9s. 1d. Turkey 99,206l.
 1s. 8d. the foreign West-Indies
 462l. 12s. 3d. and Florida 15,300l.
 15s. 1d. in all £.4,990,974 7 11

From the latter sum of £.4,990,974 7 11, it is
 necessary to deduct considerably for the consump-
 tion of Gibraltar, where, it is presumed, the con-
 sumption of British goods extends to every manu-
 factured convenience and necessary—not only fine
 cloths and linens, but malt liquors, cheese, soap
 and candles, loaf sugar, shoes, hats, cast iron
 utensils, &c. &c.

It is well-known, that several of the foreign na-
 tions which take off the above British manufac-
 tures, send in return to Britain great quantities of
 their own fabrics; for example, Russia sends hemp-
 en and flaxen manufactures, and milled iron arti-
 cles, probably to a greater amount than her above
 demand of £.281,000 sterling; and though Ger-
 many and Holland can ship very little value in raw
 materials, provisions, or lumber, yet their exports

* The French have checked, for a season, the Flemish, Ger-
 man, and Dutch demand of British goods.

to Great-Britain in 1791 were £.1,569,000 sterling. This large amount must have included a greater value of Dutch and German manufactures, than the difference between our import from Britain, and that of all those foreigners. The same remark applies to the British trade with France, Russia, Flanders, &c. and indeed the United States of America promote the demand of all those countries for British manufactures, by permitting Britain to send us foreign goods to the value of nearly a million and a half of dollars per annum. Hence it appears almost certain, that the United States of America take from Great-Britain *a greater balance of manufactured goods*, than is taken from Great-Britain by all those foreign nations. The important question occurs: how ought a wise and just nation to conduct themselves towards such great customers and consumers? If an error should be made in the decision, it will be prejudicial to the United States, and pernicious in the extreme to the commerce of Great-Britain.

The weight of the inducements to an equitable and generous deportment on the part of Great-Britain is not a little increased by similar facts in relation to the employment of her ships. It appears from a British statement of her trade with all the world and from the promulgated documents of Congress, that the vessels of that country, loaded in the United States in 1791 and 1792, were about equal in tonnage to all the British vessels cleared

out of Great-Britain for Russia, Denmark and Norway, Sweden, Prussia, Poland, Hamburg, Bremen, and Germany in general.

A solution of the extraordinary increase of imports from Great-Britain, into the United States, will be useful to ourselves.

The astonishing prosperity of this country, in consequence of the restoration of union and order in 1789, is a very principal cause. Since that time our exports (including a freight upon them) have increased by more than two millions sterling. Our consumption is therefore more free (perhaps too much so) as to the quantity, and particularly as to *the quality* of the commodities; and the new buildings and repairs of old ones, requiring glass, hardware, &c. have exceeded those of all former times. The population of those states is known to advance, under common circumstances, at the rate of five per cent. per annum. The prosperity of our country, and the disorders of France, of her neighbours in Europe, and of her colonies, have occasioned a great and most rapid increase of people, part of which may be temporary. These consume fine goods.* The exportations of British goods from this country to foreign markets should be taken in-

* The sum paid by one foreign nation, to transient refugees from the disordered parts of its territories, sojourning in the United States in the summer of 1794, is said to have been no less than 60,000 dollars per month, equal to 720,000 dollars per annum.

to the estimate, particularly the French colonies. The sails and furniture of the extraordinary quantity of new vessels, built in our ports, is also to be noted: nor is the quantity of furniture and goods brought in by European emigrators to be forgotten. The stock on hand in the wholesale and retail stores throughout the country (the surplus of importations) is very great, though the coarse and substantial articles for building, apparel and furniture, are generally sold between the arrivals of the spring and fall vessels: and lastly the tools, implements and materials for works and manufactories, to be built and established among us, are not inconsiderable, but are a new demand on our part, which has been created since 1775, and which has been greatly extended in the last ten years.

It is particularly worthy of calm remark on both sides of the Atlantic, that the exports of manufactures from Great-Britain to Canada in the year before mentioned (1791) was no more than 243,000*l.* sterling, being less than one sixteenth part of our demand. In that small sum was included, of course, the supply of British manufactures for the Canadian Indian trade. Let considerate men determine then, whether that branch of commerce (the fur-trade) is of sufficient importance to justify the hazard of a difference with the United States. The whole importation (furs included) from Canada and Hudson's bay, into Great-Britain, amounted in 1791, to no more than 135,000*l.* sterling. Had a war appeared to arise about such a trifle, it might have

been suspected on reflexion, that political considerations were the true and secret cause. To acquire a portion of our territory would probably have been deemed the real object of our neighbour. To frustrate or prevent a dismemberment of our country would have been the honest and avowed object of the people of the United States. But it seemed good to Providence to save the two nations from the destroying scourge of war.

It has been confidently expected by many in this country, that the re-animation, accession and accumulation of its capital would gradually relieve us from the alledged necessity of trading with those who could best afford us the accommodation of credit. The expectation was reasonable, and it therefore will not be disappointed. The merchants of the United States are now prepared to purchase very large portions of their supplies with ready money in the best and original markets. When the disorders and immense military demand on the continent of Europe shall cease, it is not at all doubted, that this ability will plainly appear, wherever the nature of the market shall afford an adequate temptation. It is not alledged here, that this ability will materially vary the foreign sources of our supplies, whatever may be the case: but it obviates much of the arguments drawn from the consideration of credit.

It is believed, that miscalculations of the resources and faculties of the United States have affected

the mutual interests of this country and of several nations, with which we have intercourse. Many of these errors have been touched in the preceding pages. One more is intended to be noticed here. It is an opinion, which has been maintained, that *the United States would be destitute of revenue were any circumstances to interrupt their British trade.* The importations into the United States were very considerable in the most difficult years of the late war. The prize goods (and these pay duty) were of great value. It is certain, that the revenue from foreign and domestic spirits amounts, at this time, to one million, six hundred and fifty thousand dollars, of which a very large part is drawn from sources other than British. The revenue from wines, China goods, and molasses, are entirely from other sources, as those from coffee, sugar and cocoa are in a large degree. Russia and the Hanse towns now, and Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Ostend, France and Italy, in tranquil times, would furnish great supplies for money and produce, and some of them for credit. These would yield us revenue of course.—If unhappily a war were to take place, neutral bottoms, with cargoes belonging to themselves, would afford large supplies, which the political claims of Great-Britain prevented in the revolutionary war. Every European country would maintain its right to trade with America,*

* The armed neutrality, and the present armament of Denmark and Sweden, afford serious lessons on this subject—as also the conduct of Portugal and Holland towards the United States.

acknowledged independent by that country, which then upheld a claim to check all intercourse between her and the foreign world. That trade would also yield us revenue.—So far as the manufactures of the United States might diminish the importations from foreign countries, it is obvious that our citizens could *well* afford to pay a proportionate tax. If we should save the whole value of a bale of linens for example, by making it at home, we could have no difficulty in raising or paying one tenth of its value in the form a land-tax, or some other equitable and reasonable contribution. The modes of revenue of all nations are unfolded to us, and we have no reason to doubt that our law-makers are less able to devise original plans of taxation, than those of other countries. An useful lesson upon this subject may be obtained by considering how much more easy and effectual have been the financial measures of the United States, since 1786, 1787 and 1788, than was expected by unwise and unkind observers in those three years. The short question is this.—Has America the substance, wherewithal to defray the expences of her political existence? Let those, who are capable, compare her present operations in every line with those of 1775: and let them also compare the public contributions of this happy people with those of the nations of the old world—taking duly into view the productions and exportations of each. Let them also remember that the depredations on the British commerce, in the late war, were *great indeed*, and that the exertions of that day could be far exceeded at this time.

It is highly favourable to the character, the energy, and safety of the United States, that the importation of slaves has ceased, that the increase of white population and gradual emancipation have reduced the proportion of those unhappy, and once dangerous people to a very safe point indeed in the nine middle and northern states, and that a very extraordinary increase of white population has taken place in the southern states. The subdivision of lands and of all other property, by the recent laws of descent, facilitates and occasions the sales of farms to the people of the more northern states, and to European emigrants; and promotes the rapid course by which the whites are outnumbering the blacks. Kentucky, the Southern Territory of Congress, the western parts of Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, are not in the most remote danger of inconvenience from the negroes. The low and level counties of Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina, where the blacks are most numerous, are so near to the sea, that the transportation of a force by water, were it unexpectedly to become necessary, and the collection of the neighbouring and interior militia, would ensure the immediate suppression of any disorderly movement. The midland and interior counties being inhabited almost entirely by whites, no refuge could be had there. The number of slaves in the United States is somewhat more than those of French St. Domingo, but the white people of this country are one hundred times as many as the white people of that colony were

at the commencement of the existing disorders in that island: and are far more energetic, and better armed.

It will be pleasing to the friends of religious liberty to perceive, that no evils whatever have resulted in America from the non-existence of an established church, nor from an entire separation of ecclesiastical influence from the civil power.

It has been sometimes feared, that the luxuries and dissipations of Europe would be quickly introduced, with their capital, into the United States. Most of those, who have come among us have been led hither by serious views of advantage or driven by misfortune. Hence it is true, that we really have no striking examples of dissipation or expense among the families, who have chosen America for their home. They have been duly sobered by their plans of emolument, or by reflection on the losses and difficulties, which have constrained them to leave their native country. It is really true that they have rather accommodated themselves to the American modes of life, than pursued or introduced those of Europe. A fact equally beneficial to them and to us. It is, however, highly prudent to remember, that the United States having become by their independence in some sense, "*the colony of all Europe*" further wholesome provisions in our laws, calculated effectually to prevent inconveniences, which might arise from the sudden introduction to power of persons of every variety of cha-

rafter, difpofition and property, are truly worthy of legislative confideration. But while we obey this obvious and folemn dictate of prudence, let us not ceafe to be perfectly equitable, kind, and generous to thofe foreigners who may defire to fet down among us: and particularly let them fully enjoy the rights of religion, protection, occupation, profeffion and property. When the courfe in which thefe ftates have wifely marched to the goal of freedom, civil and religious, is duly remembered, it will be fafe to affirm, that no general defcription of foreigners are likely to be indifpenfible auxiliaries to the American people in thofe important objects, immediately on their arrival. When the wifdom, which any perfon may have brought with him fhall be fufficiently directed by his experience and knowledge of thofe things, which belong to our peace and which concern our general interefts, and when he fhall have manifested a fufficient common intereft in this community, thofe temporary precautions, which prudence may at firft require, will become unneceffary. This principle of caution is not a new one. It will be fatisfactory to prudent men at home and abroad, that the conftitution of the United States and thofe of the feveral ftates have been framed with confiderable attention to its obvious expediency.

It is not unfavourable to the form of government adopted by this country, that no monarchy in the civilized world, exercifed over an equally nume-

rous people, has been so well able to maintain internal tranquility and foreign peace in this day of general convulsion and disorder. The recent instance of opposition to a law of the union has evinced the disposition of the people of America to maintain their government, the efficiency of the constituted authorities, and the alacrity of the body of militia of four several states. This prompt exertion will be deemed, on serious reflection, no inconsiderable proof of an unalterable determination to maintain order and the civil power, when it is remembered that the rejection of a similar law was attempted in England, within the present century, and actually effected by tumultuous influences on their legislature itself, equal therefore to the late disorders in the south western counties of Pennsylvania. In the United States it may be at least affirmed, that the secondary consideration of *a particular mode of revenue* has been put out of question in order to maintain the primary object of *an efficient republican government*.

It appears from a very incomplete but authentic note of the vessels built in the United States during the eighteen months following the 31st day of December 1792, that they amounted to nearly 80,000 tons. The ports of Nantucket, Boston, Alexandria, the two Wilmingtons, Edenton, and (for one year of the time) Baltimore, and several others of inferior consequence were, not included in the return. The quantity built at Philadelphia was 10,204 tons, although the epide-

mic malady of 1793, suspended the business for one entire quarter. The district of Maine appears to have built 15476 tons, though some of the returns from thence are deficient. During the first year of the existing general government (from March, 1789, to March, 1790) the whole ship-building of the United States was 17 to 18,000 tons, and in the second year, ending in March, 1791, it was about 32,000 tons. Such has been *the progress* and such is *the present state* of the first of our mechanic arts.

It is of some importance to the harmony between the United States and foreign countries, that circumstances of unfavourable discrimination against us are gradually wearing out of the systems of those countries. An instance of this, but little noticed in America or Great-Britain, has occurred in the regulations of the latter country with respect to foreign manufactures. Before April, 1792, no manufactured articles of the United States could be imported into that kingdom. This exceptionable discrimination operated against us only. On the first of that month the annual order of the king of Great-Britain in council legalized the introduction of American manufactures upon the footing of the most favoured foreign nations. The two countries have thus placed each other on an equal ground in that particular, excepting that Britain has done that by a temporary executive order which the government of the United States have done, upon the principles of impartiality, by reiterated legislative acts. The existence of the late rigid prohibi-

bition of our manufactures in Great-Britain, though formerly of little importance, would have been of considerable inconvenience to us in the event of a war between that country and the maritime powers in the north of Europe. Tanned leather, rolled and flit iron, steel, cannon ball, cordage and flaxen and hempen yarns for example (some or all of them) are imported into Great-Britain to a large amount from those northern nations. These articles on the occurrence of such war, we could supply to considerable advantage. Grain spirits, starch, malt, soap, candles, and tawed skins, and other articles must become redundant and cheap in the United States and a foreign market for them may be found desirable. The powers now at war have doubtless consumed no small value of these articles from America during the last three years. Holland, the Austrian Netherlands, the Hanse towns, the European ports of France, and the colonies of several nations have received by ordinary importation from the United States considerable manufactures of grain, of the fat of animals, of wood, of iron, of leather and skins, of flax and hemp, and of fur.

Terrifying reports of danger from the American Indians have been widely circulated in some foreign countries. It is a fact, however, that there is not the most remote possibility of injury from those savages to more than a twentieth or thirtieth part of the inhabitants of this country. Nineteen in twenty or twenty-nine in thirty of our people are as free

from that danger, as the people of Germany, or Great-Britain. All the counties on and near the atlantic ocean, all the midland counties and all the first ranges of the western counties are perfectly safe and even undisturbed. In the unconnected range of frontier counties, the inhabitants are often partially alarmed in the time of an actual Indian war, and it is true that they sometimes suffer. But this has little effect upon them as is proved by facts, which speak more strongly than any thing, that can be said upon the subject. The old frontier county of Cumberland in Pennsylvania, for example, contained, in the year 1760, no more than 1501 taxable inhabitants, and in the year 1770 no more than 3521 taxable inhabitants. It had a narrow front on the western bank of the river Susquehanna, and extended from thence over the Allegheny mountain beyond the head of the Ohio to the western limits of the state. By a public return of 1793,* it appears that the counties, erected since out of the original county of Cumberland are inhabited by the increased number of 24,785 taxable inhabitants. Four of them, which are beyond the Allegheny mountain, and nearest to the Indians, contain nearly one third more than those four which lie between that mountain and the river Susquehanna. Much the most populous of the whole eight, is the county of Washington, which lies the nearest to the Indians, and has in it near 24,000 inhabitants of all ages and sexes.

* See Chapter VI. Book II. for a comparative view of the taxable inhabitants of Pennsylvania at three periods.

The great prices of American exports, both the spontaneous productions of the earth and the fruits of cultivation, which have been obtained in our home market, during the last six years, together with the prodigious increase of some of them, have given an immense spring to the landed property and the agricultural interests of the United States. For example our whole export of flour in 1786, supposing it to be 300,000 barrels, at five dollars, has been advanced to nearly 1,100,000 barrels in 1793 at seven dollars. It is to be remembered also that as very great improvements in agricultural skill and economy are obviously practicable in this country, much consequent increase may be reasonably expected. The commerce, which has resulted from this great natural cause, *the prosperity of agriculture*, is of the most satisfactory and unfluctuating kind. Those, who have nearly 800,000 barrels of flour to sell and ship in 1793 more than they had in 1786, will have so much the more to do in their banks, their insurance offices, their counting houses, their tradesmens shops and on their wharves; so much more for their millers to grind, and for their coasters to transport, so much more to employ their outward ships, and so much more to fill their inward vessels, and in short, so much more of all the pleasing and profitable details of an honest, intelligent and flourishing commerce, solidly founded upon, and inseparably blended with the prosperity of the farmer, the planter, the grazier, the iron master, and the land holder of every description.

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